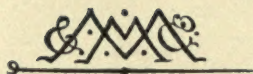


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ANTI MIAΣ

AN ESSAY IN ISOMETRY

BY
Richard J. WALKER

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II

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CHAPTER VII (*continued*)

EURIPIDES

TROADES

THE *Troades* is in a sense one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Harleianus 5743 (Nauck's *A*), but in *A* ll. 611 to the end are added by a later hand, and in Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

But it is particularly to be noted that it is not contained in Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*). It is the only extant play which *C* entirely omits—a circumstance of some significance.

corrupt. On the contrary, much of it appears to be as sound as can reasonably be expected. But, side by side

ERRATA

VOL. II

P. 36, l. 2, *for* "her" *read* "his"

P. 109, l. 23. *After* "influence" *insert* "(an influence which I emphatically regard as linguistic in pre-historic Greek, not as merely metrical)"

P. 325, l. 2, *omit* "only"

P. 325, l. 3, *omit* "and its apographs"

CHAPTER VII (*continued*)

EURIPIDES

TROADES

THE *Troades* is in a sense one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B), Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Harleianus 5743 (Nauck's *A*), but in *A* ll. 611 to the end are added by a later hand, and in Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

But it is particularly to be noted that it is not contained in Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*). It is the only extant play which *C* entirely omits—a circumstance of some significance.

The *Troades* forms a very important part of the material of the *Christus Patiens*; but it was probably unknown to Stobaeus (see Appendix D).

This combination of facts is extremely peculiar.

After more than once attempting in the course of putting together these notes on Euripides to discuss the choruses of this play, I have ultimately in the order of writing left it to the very last in the hope that fresh light with regard to it might come to me from the consideration of the other plays. That hope has not been altogether falsified; but nevertheless the *Troades* continues to present to my mind problems of an exceptional character.

It is not that the *Troades* is in any sense thoroughly corrupt: on the contrary, much of it appears to be as sound as can reasonably be expected. But, side by side

with what seems to be the fairly faithful preservation of very large portions of the text, we are confronted with repeated examples on a considerable scale of most extraordinary depravation.

In various choruses, though the outlines of strophe and antistrophe are easily discernible and in fact discerned by editors, we find either that strophe and antistrophe differ widely from one another in detail, or else (more rarely) that they differ in such a way that it is no longer a question of detail. All this is well known. The choruses to which these remarks apply are puzzling enough in themselves, and have caused searchings of heart among editors. But the mischief does not stop at these particular choruses. The strangest feature of the existing text of the play is presented by the parodos. In the parodos, after a number of regular anapaestic lines, the metre goes off into an alternation of passages in the regular anapaestic metre and in a metre which seems to be anapaestic, but which makes the freest possible use of spondees, is not subject at any rate to strict diaeresis, and includes lines of varying lengths. The two metres, however, are not so essentially distinct as to make it possible to say definitely of every single passage that it is written in one rather than the other. The Doric dialect prevails, except where the metre is distinctively the regular anapaestic.

If we are to consider the text as approximately sound, it is necessary to divide the non-regular anapaestic passages into real strophes and antistrophes. This task is impossible, except at the cost of emendations so considerable and incessant, as to invalidate the hypothesis of the approximate soundness of the text.

A much more conservative treatment (and to this after long consideration I strongly incline) is to turn the whole chorus into regular anapaests, banishing alike the Doric dialect and the eccentricities of metre. Far less changes are involved in this process than in any attempt to present a series of strophes and antistrophes.

In view of the grave abnormality involved in the alternation of non-lyrical and lyrical anapaestic systems,

the decision whether this treatment of the mischief is or is not justifiable depends largely on the view taken of the nature of the corruption in the other choruses.

I confess that I am unable to do more than guess at the causes which have produced that corruption. But I do not think it open to doubt that the corruption amounts in many places to a positive rewriting. Moreover, though great portions of the text of the play show no signs of having been tampered with, there are not a few indications of late interpolation in the trimeters. l. 440, for example, is sufficient to show that both it and the context from which it is inseparable are Alexandrian or later: ll. 492-5 are probably (though not demonstrably) a reminiscence of the *Hecuba*; and there are many other lines that awaken grave suspicion.

In such surroundings I regard it as quite reasonable to suppose, and indeed to expect, that a long anapaestic parodos would not escape material alteration. Elsewhere in the play I hardly understand what causes have produced intentional corruption: here the cause is obvious, namely, the desire to relieve the monotony of a protracted series of regular anapaests by the infusion of lyrical song and dance.

Hence I feel myself relieved from the obligation of discussing the possibilities of real strophic correspondence inside the parodos, though Seidler has shown that not many emendations are required to produce what, in a non-lyrical sense, may be styled strophes and antistrophes.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 122-234)

It is at l. 122 that the parodos (if, as it stands, it can any further be styled a parodos) abandons the strict metre of regular anapaestic verse for a laxer metre, which nevertheless looks like the anapaestic metre under a disguise, and the Attic for the Doric dialect. What I have described as the first chorus consists mainly of passages in this peculiar metre, but also of certain passages that are obviously intended to conform to the regular anapaestic rules, and of various other passages,

which are indeed Doric in diction, but in which there is only a very small number of metrical irregularities.

As I have said in my introductory remarks, it would be a matter of the greatest difficulty, involving innumerable emendations, to present the portions that are couched in irregular anapaestic metre in such a form as to comply even with the elementary principles that govern the correspondence of strophe and antistrophe. For my own satisfaction I have attempted the task, but the results are so eminently unsatisfactory that it would be idle to think of committing them to print.

It is, as far as I can see from a study of the lyrics of Euripides as a whole, impossible that the poet should have written at length (or even, to my mind, at all) in lyrical anapaests of an anomoeostrophic character. The sole alternative, unless we assume (which I see no reason for assuming) that we are dealing with work essentially non-Euripidean, is that a parodos originally regular in metre and Attic in dialect from one end to the other has been partially lyricized; and I have already given a reason why it should have been so lyricized. I would ask the reader to compare the last chorus of the *Persae* of Aeschylus, where a process identical in principle and similar in detail has been carried out with exactly the same motive.

The reader who may attempt the task of reconstitution for himself, will find that the only serious difficulty is to arrive, in most places, at anything like precision. A great number of the lines might have been distorted equally or almost equally readily from any one of at least three or four hypothetical originals, none of them differing very greatly from the existing text.

At one point I seem to see something like certainty, and, as the matter is of interest, I will digress to the extent of discussing with brevity the matter in question.

In ll. 128-30 Hecuba is made to say, addressing the prows of the Greek ships :

βαίνουσαι πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου
 παιδείαν ἐξηγήσασθ',
 αἰαῖ, Τροίας ἐν κόλποις.

The 'woven nurture of Egypt' (or 'of the Nile') is a singularly euphuistic expression for a 'papyrus cable'; and, quite apart from the consideration that Euripides does not affect, and indeed avoids, the use of extravagant euphuism, there is, unless I am mistaken, an almost grotesque incongruity between the artificiality of *πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν* and the simplicity of the rest of the passage. Lycophron might possibly have written *πλεκτὴν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν*, but then the context would have been in keeping. Moreover it is extremely harsh to assign to *παιδεία* a concrete sense. *παίδευμα* would have been the proper word to use.

As in the *Medea* (l. 828) I have confidently substituted *εἶαν* ('food') for *σοφίαν*, in a scholion on which word we read the word *παιδευσέως*, so here I would read

. . . *πλεκτὴν*,
τὴν Αἰγύπτου παίδων εἶαν,
ἐξηρτήσασθ' . . .

It is unnecessary to adduce evidence of the use of the papyrus as food in Egypt. I take *πλεκτὴν* as the substantive, and the omission of *τὴν* as due to haplography. Before *πλεκτὴν* I think we ought to read *βύβλου* or its equivalent in sense. *πλεκτὴν* by itself could hardly be described as *τὴν Αἰγύπτου παίδων εἶαν*, but *βύβλου πλεκτὴν* could.

On the strength of the MS. *βαίνουσαι* or *βαίνουσα*, I am inclined to suggest:

βύβλινον οὔσον,

as a part of the original reading. For *οὔσον* see *οὔσα* in Lycophron (l. 20), where the sense is identical.

The chorus falls into three sections.

The first section runs as follows in the MSS.:

πρῶραι ναῶν, ὠκεῖαι

Ἰλιον ἱερὸν (v.l. *ἱερὰν*) *αἰὲ κόπαις δι'*

ἄλα πορφυροειδέα (v.l. *πορφυριδέα*, Hesychius

πορφυροειδῆ) καὶ λιμένας

Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους αὐλῶν παιᾶνι στυγνῶ

συρίγγων τ' εὐφθόγγων (v.l. εὐφώνων) φωναῖς (v.l.
 φωνᾷ)
 βαίνουσαι (v.l. βαίνουσα) πλεκτάν, Αἰγύπτου
 παιδείαν, ἐξηρτήσασθ',
 αἰαῖ (v.l. for ἐξηρτήσασθ' αἰαῖ, ἐξηρτήσασθαι), Τροίας
 ἐν κόλποις, 130
 Μενελάου μετανισσόμεναι
 στυνγὰν ἄλοχον, Κάστορι λώβαν,
 τῷ τ' Εὐρώτῃ δυσκλείαν,
 ἃ σφάζει μὲν
 τὸν πεντήκοντ' ἀροτῆρα τέκνων, 135
 Πριάμον, ἐμέ δὲ μελέαν Ἑκάβαν
 εἰς τάνδ' ἐξώκειλ' ἄταν.
 ὦμοι θάκους οἶους (v.l. οὐς) θάσσω
 σκηναῖς ἑφεδρος Ἀγαμεμνονεῖαις.
 δούλ' ἄγομαι (v.l. δούλαν ἄγομαι) γραυῖς ἐξ οἴκων, 140
 κουρᾷ ξυρηκεῖ πενθήρει (v.l. πενθήρη)
 κρᾶτ' ἐκπορθηθεῖς οἰκτρῶς.
 ἀλλ', ὦ τῶν χαλκεγχείων Τρώων
 ἄλοχοι μέλαι καὶ κόραι δύσνυμφοι (v.l. δύσνυμφαι)
 τύφεται Ἴλιον αἰάζομεν (v.l. αἰάζωμεν). 145
 μάτηρ ὥσει (v.l. ὥς εἴ τις) πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν
 ὄρνισιν ὅπως ἐξάρξω ἔγῳ
 μολπὰν οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἶαν ποτὲ δὴ
 σκῆπτρῳ Πριάμου διεριδομένα 150
 παιδὸς (v.l. ποδὸς) ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς (v.ll. πληγαῖς,
 πλαγγαῖς) Φρυγίαις
 εὐκόμποις ἐξήρχον θεούς.

Seidler was the first to perceive that a few emendations of no great importance are sufficient to bring back this passage (in a sense) into strophic-antistrophic form. The result to my mind is in a sense convincing. But nevertheless the result cannot be Euripidean. The strophe and antistrophe so obtained teem with examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. Whatever view is taken of the strict attitude with regard to that phenomenon which I am endeavouring to make good, it is in any event certain that the phenomenon is at best a licence and not a normality. But on any reconstitution similar to that of

Seidler's nothing further can be obtained than two series of lines, presenting indeed, at identical points in each, curious deviations from the regular run of the anapaestic metre, but making no attempt to answer an anapaest by an anapaest or a spondee by a spondee, so that in the strict sense they cannot be pronounced to possess the true relation of strophe and antistrophe.

Therefore I conclude that a reconstruction such as that of Seidler provides us indeed with a fairly close approach to the text as it stood when altered by some lyricizing innovator, but that we have to go further still and turn the whole passage into regular anapaests in the Attic dialect, without any vestige of strophe and antistrophe at all, if we are to recover the *ipsissima verba* of Euripides. That task I am not called upon to attempt. I have already made one or two suggestions, but that is all. As exhibiting the latest development of the work which Seidler began, I will set out the passage, divided into strophe and antistrophe, in the form in which it is given in the edition of Professor Tyrrell (for convenience I adhere to Nauck's numbering).

(Examples A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M,
N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, AND X)

πρῶραι ναῶν, ὠκείαις	στρ.
Ἴλιον ἱρὰν αἰὲ κώπαις ἄλλα	
διὰ πορφυροειδῇ καὶ λίμνας	
Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους	125
αὐλῶν παιᾶνι στυγνῷ	
συρίγγων τ' εὐφθόγγῳ φωνᾷ	
βαίνουσai πλεκτάν, Αἰγύπτου	
παίδευμ', ἐξηρτήσασθ', αἰαῖ,	
Τροίας ἐν κόλποις,	130
τὰν Μενελάου μετανισσόμεναι	
στυγνὰν ἄλοχον, Κάστορι λώβαν,	
τῷ τ' Εὐρώτῃ δυσκλείαν,	
ἃ σφάζει μὲν τὸν πεντήκοντ'	
ἀροτῆρα τέκνων, ἐμὲ τὰν μελέαν δ'	135

ἐς τάνδ' ἐξώκειλ' ἄταν.
 ὦμοι θάκουσ οὖς θάσσω ἀντ.
 σκηναῖς ἐφέδρους Ἀγαμεμνονίαις.
 δούλα δ' ἄγομαι γραῦς ἐξ οἴκων, 140
 κουρᾷ πενθήρει
 κρᾶτ' ἐκπορθηθεῖς' οἰκτρῶς.
 ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν χαλκευγχείων Τρώων
 ἄλοχοι μέλεια, μέλεια κοῦραι
 καὶ δύσσυμφοι, τύφεται Ἴλιον,
 ἐξαιιάζωμεν. 145
 μάτηρ δ' ὥσεϊ πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν
 ὄρνις ἐξάρξω ἔγὼ μολπὰν
 οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν οἶαν δὴ
 σκῆπτρῳ Πριάμου διερειδομένα 150
 ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις
 εὐκόμποις ἐξήρχον θεούς.

In l. 122 *ὠκείαις* is Tyrrell's suggestion, as is *ἱρὰν* in l. 123.

In l. 124 the conjecture *λίμνας* was first made by Hartung.

In l. 127 *εὐφθόγγῳ φωνᾷ* is the Aldine reading.

In l. 129 *παίδευμ'* is due to Tyrrell.

In l. 136 Tyrrell omits *Πριάμον*. The rest of l. 136 he arrives at by modifying Seidler's reading, who inserted *τὰν* before *μελέαν*.

In l. 139 Hermann first suggested *ἐφέδρους*, and Valcknaer *Ἀγαμεμνονίαις*.

In l. 141 Tyrrell omits *ξυρήκει* on his own authority. Such an omission appears to me hazardous in the extreme.

In l. 144 the substitution for *καὶ* of a second *μέλεια* was suggested by Hermann. *κοῦραι* for *κόραι* is the Aldine reading.

In l. 145 *ἐξαιιάζωμεν* is Tyrrell's emendation of *αἰιάζωμεν*.

In l. 147 *ὄρνις ἐξάρξω ἔγὼ* is Tyrrell's emendation.

In l. 149 Tyrrell omits *ποτέ*.

The second section of the chorus is presented by the MSS. in the following form.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἑκάβη, τί θροεῖς ; τί δὲ θώσσεις ;
 ποῖ λόγος ἤκει (v.l. omit ποῖ λόγος ἤκει) ; διὰ γὰρ
 μελάθρων
 ἄϊον οἴκτους (v.l. omit ἄϊον οἴκ-) οὗς οἰκτίζη. 155
 διὰ δὲ στέρνων φόβος αἰσσει
 Τρῳάσιν, αἱ τῶνδ' οἴκτων εἴσω
 δουλείαν αἰάζουσιν.

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ὦ τεκν', Ἀργείων πρὸς ναῦς ἡδὴ
 κινεῖται κωπήρης χεῖρ. 160

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

οἱ γὰρ μελέα (v.l. οἱ ἐγὼ τλάμων), τί θέλουσ' ; ἦπου
 μ' ἡδη (for μ' ἡδη, v.ll. γε δὴ and με δὴ)
 ναυσθλώσουσιν πατρώας ἐκ (v.l. ἐπὶ) γᾶς ;

ΕΚΑΒΗ

οὐκ οἶδ', εἰκάζω δ' ἄταν.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ ἰώ.
 μέλει μόχθον (v.l. μόχθων) ἐπακουσόμεναι (v.l.
 ἐπακούσομαι) 165
 Τρῳάδες, ἔξω κομίζεσθ' οἴκων.
 στέλλουσ' Ἀργεῖοι νόστον.

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ἔ ἔ.
 μή νύν μοι τὰν ἐκβακχεύουσαν
 Κασάνδραν πέμψητ' (v.l. πέμψετ') ἔξω, 170
 αἰσχύναν (v.l. αἰσχύνην) Ἀργείοισιν
 μαινάδ', ἐπ' ἄλγει (v.l. ἐπ' ἄλγεσι) δ' ἀλγυνθῶ. ἰώ
 (v.l. omit ἰώ),
 ἰώ,
 Τροία Τροία δύσταν', ἔρρεις,
 δύστανοι δ' οἳ σ' ἐκλιπόντες (v.ll. σε λιπόντες and
 σ' ἐκλίποντες)
 καὶ ζῶντες καὶ δμαθέντες. 175

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

οἷμοι. τρομερὰ σκηναὺς ἔλιπον
 τύσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπακουσομένην (v.l. ἐπακουσομένα),
 βασίλεια, σέθεν, μή με κτείνειν
 δόξ' Ἀργείων κείται μελέαν,
 ἡ κατὰ πρύμνας ἤδη ναῦται
 στέλλονται κινεῖν κώπας.

180

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ὦ τέκνον, ὀρθρεύου σὰν (v.ll. ὀρθεύου σὰν and ὀρ-
 θρεύουσιν) ψυχάν·
 ἐκπληχθεῖς ἦλθον φρίκα.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

ἤδη τις ἔβα Δαναῶν κῆρυξ;
 τῷ πρόσκειμαι δούλα τλάμων;

185

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ἐγγύς που κείσαι κλήρου.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ ἰώ.
 τίς μ' Ἀργείων ἡ Φθιωτῶν (v.l. Φθιωτὰν)
 ἡ νησαίαν ἄξει (v.ll. ἡξει and μ' ἄξει) χώραν
 δύστανον πρόσω (v.l. πόρρω) Τροίας;

ΕΚΑΒΗ

φεῦ φεῦ.
 τῷ δ' ἂ τλάμων ποῦ πᾶ (v.l. παῖ) γαίας
 δουλεύσω γραῦς, ὡς κηφήνα (v.ll. ὡς σκηφὴν ἰ and
 ὡς κηφὴν ἰ)
 δεῖλαία νεκροῦ μορφά (v.l. μορφᾶ),
 See { νεκρῶν ἀμειννὸν ἄγαλμα, ἡ τὰν
 below. { παρά τε (v.l. παρὰ without τε) προθύροις
 φυλακὰν κατέχουσα (v.l. κατέχουσ')
 ἡ παίδων θρέπτειρ, ἂ Τροίας
 ἀρχαγούς εἶχον τιμὰς;

190

195

For the passage *νεκύων*—*θρέπτειρ* Codex Harleianus is said to present a variant of which the shortness is suggestive, viz. :

*νεκύων ἀμεινὴν
παρὰ προθύροις
σ' ἢ παίδων θρέπτειν.*

Seidler first saw that this section also can be reduced to strophe and antistrophe.

Professor Tyrrell reads as follows (but the numbering is Nauck's) :

(Examples Y, Z, ا, ب, ت, ث, ج, ح, خ, د, ذ, ر, ز, س, ش, ص, ض, ط, ظ, ع, غ, ف, ق, ك, and ل)

HM. *Ἐκάβη, τί θροεῖς ; τί δὲ θωῦσσεῖς ;* στρ.

ποῖ λόγος ἤκει ; διὰ γὰρ μελάθρων

ἄϊον οἴκτους οὖς οἰκτίζει, 155

διὰ δὲ στέρνων φόβος αἴσσει

Τρῳάσιν, αἰ τῶνδ' οἴκων εἴσω

δουλείαν αἰάζουσιν.

EK. *ὦ τέκνον, Ἀργείων πρὸς ναυσὶν*

κινεῖται κωπήρης χεῖρ. 160

HM. *οἱ γῶ, τί θέλουσ' ; ἦ πού μ' ἤδη*

ναυσθλώσουσιν πατρῶας ἐκ γᾶς ;

EK. *οὐκ οἶδ', εἰκάζω δ' ἄταν.*

HM. *ἰὼ ἰὼ.*

μέλεια μόχθων ἐπακουσόμεναι 165

“Τρῳάδες, ἔξω κομίσασθ' οἴκων.

στέλλουσ' Ἀργεῖοι νόστον.”

EK. *αἰαῖ,*

μή νύν μοι τὰν βακχεύουσαν

Κασάνδραν πέμψητ' ἔξω, 170

αἰσχύναν Ἀργείοισιν,

μαινάδ', ἐπ' ἄλγει δ' ἀλγυνθῶ.

Τροία Τροία δύσταν', ἔρρεις

δύντανοι δ' οἳ σ' ἐκλείποντες

καὶ ζῶντες καὶ δμαθέντες. 175

HM. *οἶμοι. τρομερὰ σκηναὺς ἔλιπον* ἀντ.

- τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἐπακουσόμενα,
 βασίλεια, σέθεν, μή με κτείνειν
 δόξ' Ἀργείων κεῖται μελέαν,
 ἥ κατὰ πρύμνας ἤδη ναῦται
 180 στέλλονται κινεῖν κώπας.
- EK. ὦ τέκνον, ὀρθρεύουσιν ψυχὰν
 ἐκπληχθεῖς ἦλθον φρίκα.
- HM. ἤδη τις ἔβα Δαναῶν κήρυξ ;
 τῷ πρόσκειμαι δούλα τλάμων ;
 185
- EK. ἐγγύς που κεῖσαι κλήρου.
- HM. ἰὼ ἰώ.
 τίς μ' Ἀργείων ἢ Φθιωτῶν
 ἢ νησαίαν ἄξει χώραν
 δύστανον πόρσω Τροίας ;
- EK. φεῦ φεῦ.
 τῷ δ' ἂ τλάμων ποῦ ποῦ γαίας
 190 δουλεύσω γράυς, ὡς κηφήν,
 δειλαία νεκροῦ μορφή,
 νεκύων ἀμενηνὸν ἄγαλμ', ἢ
 τὰν παρὰ προθύροις φυλακὰν κατέχουσ',
 ἢ παῖδων θρέπτειρ', ἂ Τροίας
 195 ἀρχαγούς εἶχον τιμάς ;

In l. 159 τέκνον for τέκν', and ναυσὶν for ναῦς ἤδη are emendations of Tyrrell's, so far as I know. Seidler reads ναῦς δὲ.

In l. 161 Kirchhoff suggested the omission of μελέα.

In l. 168 Tyrrell proposes αἰαῖ for εἰ ἔ.

In l. 170 the Aldine reading is βακχεύουσιν.

The ἰώ before l. 173 is omitted by Tyrrell.

In l. 174 Kirchhoff first proposed ἐκλείποντες.

In l. 190 ποῦ ποῦ is the Aldine reading.

In l. 192 ὡς κηφήν, δειλαία is due to Tyrrell.

In l. 194 Tyrrell adopts Stephanus' omission of τε : but Kirchhoff keeps τε and omits τὰν.

The third section of the chorus (which section Seidler divided into strophe and antistrophe, like the other two sections) runs thus in the MSS. :

ΧΟΡΟΣ

αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ. ποίοις δ' οἴκοις
 τὰν σὰν λύμαν ἐξαιάζεις (v.l. ἐξετάζεις);
 οὐκ Ἰδαίοις ἰστοῖσι κερκίδα
 δινεύουσ' ἐξαλλάξω. 200
 νέα τοι (v.l. νέατι) τεκέων σώματα λεύσσω,
 νέα τοι (v.l. νέατι). μόχθους ἔξω κρείσσους,
 ἥ λέκτροις πλαθεῖς Ἑλλάνων—
 ἔρρει νύξ αὐτὰ καὶ δαίμων—
 ἥ Πειρήνας ὑδρευσομένα 205
 πρόσπολος (B inserts οἰκτρὰ) σεμνῶν ὑδάτων
 ἔσομαι.
 τὰν κλεινὰν εἴθ' ἔλθοιμεν
 Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χώραν.
 μὴ γὰρ δὴ δίναν (for δὴ δίναν, v.ll. ἐν δίνα and ἐν
 δίνα) γ' Εὐρώτα, 210
 τὰν ἐχθίσταν θεράπνυν Ἑλένας,
 ἔνθ' ἀντάσω Μενέλα δούλα (v.l. δούλαν),
 τῷ τᾶς (v.l. τῆς) Τροίας πορθητῇ.
 τὰν Πηνειοῦ σεμνὰν χώραν,
 κρηπὶδ' Οὐλύμπου καλλίσταν, 215
 ὀλβῷ (v.l. ὀλβον) βρίθειν φάμαν ἤκουσ'
 εὐθαλεῖ τ' εὐκαρπία.
 τάδε δεύτερά μοι μετὰ τὰν ἱερὰν
 Θησέως ζαθέαν ἐλθεῖν (A omits ἐλθεῖν) χώραν.
 καὶ τὰν Αἰτναίαν Ἥφαιστου 220
 Φοινίκας ἀντήρη χώραν
 Σικελῶν ὀρέων ματέρ', ἀκούω
 κηρύσσεσθαι (v.ll. κηρύσσεσθε and καρύσσεσθε) στε-
 φάνοις ἀρετᾶς (v.l. ἀρετάς).
 τάν τ' ἀγχιστεύουσιν γᾶν
 Ἴονίῳ ναῦτα (v.ll. ναῦτα, ναύται, and ναῦται)
 πόντι, 225
 ἂν ὑγραίνει (v.l. ὑδραίνει) καλλιστεύων
 ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων (v.l. πυρσέων)
 Κρᾶθις (v.ll. Κράνθις, and Κρᾶνθις) ζαθέαις πηγαῖσι
 τρέφων
 εὐάνδρὸν τ' ὀλβίζων γᾶν.

In ll. 201-2 Seidler conjectured the double *νέατον*.

In l. 225 the MS. *ναύτα*, etc., is given up by Nauck, who marks the lacuna of two syllables: other editors try to make sense of the MSS.; but Tyrrell adopts Dindorf's conjecture *ναίουν*. I cannot say that on the evidence I am convinced that optatives in *-οιν* ever existed. The only serious testimony in their favour is that of Euripides, *Fr.* 895:

ἄφρων ἂν εἶην εἰ τρέφουν τὰ τῶν πέλας. ὃ

There is no doubt that in that line it was an ancient view that *τρέφουν* was authentic, and was an optative. But, given the form as a result of corruption, the view as to its nature would inevitably come into being. I am much more inclined to think that corruption is at work. Philologically speaking, *τρέφουν* cannot be an inherited form, as the iota diphthong would necessarily in prehistoric Greek have compelled the subsequent nasal to appear in its sonant form. The result therefore would have been not *τρέφουν* but *τρέφοια*. It is perfectly true that in classical Greek side by side with the original *τρεφολατο* we find (though not quite so commonly as one would gather from the grammars) a new formation, that would in prehistoric times have been unpronounceable, namely *τρέφουντο*. But the rule-of-three sum "*ἐτρεφόμεθα : ἐτρέφοντο :: τρεφοίμεθα : x*" results so obviously in the solution "*x = τρέφουντο*," that it would be surprising if *τρέφουντο* had not been coined. But no such rule-of-three sum as "*ἔτρεφε : ἔτρεφον* (first person singular) : *τρέφοι : x*" can fairly be solved by saying "*x = τρέφουν*." The change of vowel as between the first and third persons of the imperfect indicative singular stands rigorously in the way of the working out of a false analogy. It must always be borne in mind that popular false analogies in classical Greek are not loose, but rigidly and inexorably mathematical. Hence I conceive that *τρέφουν* is inadmissible not only as an inherited form, but also as a form coined under the influence of the Attic genius.

It will be noted that singularly few difficulties of

reading in this last strophe and antistrophe, as compared with the difficulties of the earlier strophes and antistrophes, have presented themselves to the minds of editors. This difference has probably its roots in a difference in the conditions of the text itself.

It is obvious that on my view of the so-called chorus I am in no sense called upon to emend the sixty-four examples of the disputed phenomenon which present themselves in Professor Tyrrell's development of Seidler's reconstruction. Professor Tyrrell has, at best, approximated somewhat nearly to a deliberately corrupted text. It was the deliberate corruption that introduced strophe and antistrophe, and therewith a large proportion at any rate of the examples which are to be found in Professor Tyrrell's reconstruction.

Seidler was not content to reduce to strophe and antistrophe the three sections of which I have been speaking. He forced the regular anapaestic lines of the untransformed portion of the parodos into strophic and antistrophic form also. Most editors have followed him, with certain variations. Not very much force is required for such a proceeding. One has only to select a convenient stop somewhere near the middle, leave out as an interpolation enough on one side or the other to make the two portions balance, and then completely neglect syllabic correspondence. Seidler was a pioneer who did yeoman service. He can be forgiven errors due to that very ignorance which he did himself so much to lessen. But I wonder that Kirchhoff's denial of the strophic-antistrophic character of the untransformed portion of the parodos has not been generally accepted.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 239-292)

This chorus falls into two parts. The first part, extending as far as l. 277, is a dialogue between Hecuba, who speaks in dochmii, and Talthybius, who speaks in tragic trimeters. The second part is a lament in the mouth of Hecuba.

The dochmii of the first part are, as regards a con-

siderable majority of them, quite recognizable, though mostly more or less imperfect; but nevertheless here and there nothing except the metrical context exists to show what metre is intended. In the second part, on the other hand, there can hardly be said to be any consistent metre at all; but, even there, we find scattered about a few dochmii and a certain number of pseudo-dochmii of types familiar in other choruses; and, in addition, we have one true dochmiac line (l. 284):

πολεμίῳ δίκας, παρανόμῳ δάκει.

These facts seem to show that the second part of the chorus either was originally dochmiac, or else that it is a would-be dochmiac insertion, rewriting, or substitution.

An examination of the first part of the chorus shows that it is quite impossible, as it stands, to divide it into strophe and antistrophe. There are thirteen utterances in the mouth of Hecuba, all lyrical, and thirteen other utterances in the mouth of Talthybius, all tragic trimeters. Hecuba and Talthybius speak alternately throughout. Thus the whole of the first part of the chorus consists of twenty-six utterances (or, more strictly, of thirteen lyrical utterances and thirteen tragic pendants). Now, if we try to divide this series of twenty-six utterances into two equal halves, we find that the division must come at the end of the thirteenth utterance. But, as Hecuba begins the chorus, and as she and Talthybius speak alternately, the thirteenth utterance is necessarily a lyrical utterance in Hecuba's mouth. Similarly it follows that the fourteenth utterance is a tragic utterance in Talthybius' mouth. In other words, the *ex hypothesi* antistrophe presents tragic trimeters wherever the *ex hypothesi* strophe presents lyrics, and *vice versa*. This result is inevitable, seeing that the total number of utterances is twenty-six, and that half twenty-six is an odd number. To make a real strophe and antistrophe possible, in view of the alternation between lyrics and tragic trimeters, it would be necessary for the total number of utterances to be such as, when halved, to yield an even, not an odd, number. A total of twenty-four or of twenty-eight would afford a

basis, though perhaps a fallacious basis, for reconstitution. As it is, there is no sufficient similarity between one lyric portion of the chorus and another to justify us in supposing that we have a clue to a strophic-antistrophic arrangement, on the strength of which we might conjecturally alter, by means of omission, assumption of lacunae, or any other device, the intractable number of twenty-six utterances.

A resort to factors, in the hope of obtaining several strophes and antistrophes instead of one strophe and one antistrophe, necessarily ends in the same *impasse*. This is mathematically certain. If, for instance, we assume a first strophe and antistrophe of ten utterances each, everything goes merrily (apart of course from actual readings) to the end of the twentieth utterance. But then there are six utterances left, and the old impossibility confronts us once more.

It is perhaps not obvious at first sight, but the reader can convince himself by means of a simple algebraical calculation, or even by a slightly prolonged inspection, that no system of interlaced strophes and antistrophes can avoid the inevitable obstacle. The mathematics of the case are inexorable, and there is no way round.

Under the circumstances, it appears to be useless to pursue a search in this particular field for examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. The most plausible suggestion that I can make to account for the present state of the text is that in order to obtain, at a by no means very early period, an opportunity for plenty of dancing and singing, a pseudo-lyrical dress has been given to what was originally non-lyrical. I am inclined to suspect that an ordinary stichomythia has been transformed into a kind of bastard quasi-chorus.

The second part of this chorus is as perplexing as the first part. It is useless to attempt to reduce it to strophe and antistrophe. I am unable to guess whether interpolation or only corruption is responsible for the present text.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 308-345)

We begin here to breathe a different atmosphere. This wild, but pathetic, ode of Cassandra's is conceived in a spirit that marks it as the work of a great poet. The diction also is far removed from that of the interpolating tribe. Moreover the division into strophe and antistrophe is obvious. But at the same time there is a good deal of manifest corruption.

In the MSS. the chorus, apart from minor varieties of readings unconnected with my subject matter, runs as follows :

- KA. *ἀνεχε, παρέχε, φῶς φέρω* (the scholiast obviously reads *φέρε*). *σέβω φλέγω* στρ.
λαμπάσι τόδ' ἱερόν.
Ῥμήν, ὦ Ῥμέναι' ἀναξ (omitted in two MSS.). 310
ἰδού ἰδού. μακάριος ὁ γαμέτας,
μακαρία δ' ἐγὼ βασιλικοῖς λέκτροις
κατ' Ἀργος ἁ γαμουμένα.
Ῥμήν, ὦ Ῥμέναι' ἀναξ.
ἐπεὶ σύ, μάτερ, ἐπὶ δάκρυσι καὶ 315
γούοισι τὸν θανόντα πατέρα πατρίδα τε
φίλαν καταστένουσ' ἔχεις,
ἐγὼ τόδ' ἐπὶ γάμοις ἐμοῖς
ἀναφλέγω πυρὸς φῶς 320
ἐς αὐγάν, ἐς αἴγλαν, διδοῦσ'
ὦ Ῥμέναιε, σύ (σοί A and B),
παρθένων ἐπὶ λέκτροις,
διδοῦσ', ὦ Ἑκάτα, φάος,
παρθένων ἐπὶ λέκτροις (B, C, and b omit this line)
ἅ νόμος ἔχει.
πάλλε πόδ' αἰθέριον, ἀνεχε χορὸν 325 *ἀντ.*
εὖ ἂν εὖ οἶ,
ὥς ἐπὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ
μακαριωτάταις τύχαις.
ὁ χορὸς ὅσιος,
ἄγε σοί, Φοῖβε, νῦν· κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις
ἀνάκτορον θηηπολῶ. 330
ὦ Ῥμήν, ὦ Ῥμέναι', Ῥμήν.

χόρευε, μᾶτερ, ἀναγέλασον,
 ἔλισσε τᾷδ' ἐκείσε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν
 φέρουσα φιλτάταν βάσιν.
 βοάσατ' εὖ τὸν (v.l. βοάσατε τὸν and βάσατ' εὖ
 τὸν) Ὑμέναιον, ὦ,
 μακαρίαις αἰοδαῖς
 ἰαχαῖς τε νύμφαν. ἴτ' ἔξω (*A* and *B* read ἴτ' ὦ)
 καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν
 κόραι, μέλπετ' ἐμῶν γάμων
 τὸν πεπρωμένον ἐὺνᾶ
 πόσιν ἐμέθεν.

335

340

Perhaps the most interesting fact connected with this chorus is the correspondence, as the text stands, of the pseudo-dochmius βασιλικοῖς λέκτροις in l. 312 with the true dochmius κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις in l. 329. The pseudo-dochmius, of the type which ends ---, is fairly common in the vulgate of Euripides. We have here one of the ways in which such pseudo-dochmii came into being, and we have it in an unusually clear form. It can hardly be doubted but that the first syllable of δάφναις is short, that it was mistakenly supposed to be long, and that in consequence some such expression as βασιλίκ' εἰς λέχη was deliberately changed into βασιλικοῖς λέκτροις.

In the chorus there present themselves three examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

A

In the first line of the strophe the eleventh syllable is a long: in the first line of the antistrophe two shorts are substituted for this long, and the rest of the antistrophic line is missing.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 308. ἄνεχε, πάρεχε, φῶς φέρω· σέβω φλέγω

(b) l. 325. πάλλε πόδ' αἰθέριον, ἄνεχε χορὸν * *

The variation in quantity between the first syllables of the two lines cannot be dwelt on; but the variation between their respective seventh syllables is remarkable; and to this we must add the still more remarkable varia-

tion between the eleventh syllables, a variation which the scholiast indeed cures but does not explain. Furthermore the obvious lacuna at the end of the antistrophic line is sufficient in itself to show that we are dealing with a text that has gone a considerable distance down the slope of corruption.

I therefore am justified in attaching hardly any evidential value to the example of the phenomenon which presents itself under such circumstances. I am really hardly called upon to emend. But I may be permitted to make some suggestions in a tentative manner.

In the strophic line it seems highly possible that we have a parallelism of expression, so that the first syllable of *πάρεχε* may well represent an original *πῦρ*.

Strict correspondence imperatively demands that the long syllable *φῶς* should in some way be got rid of. The simplest way of getting rid of it is to read the more archaic *φᾶος*. Contracted forms were continually substituted for their uncontracted originals, whenever copyists failed to appreciate sufficiently that the uncontracted forms were required by the metre.

A general consideration of the strophic line will show that it is well-nigh impossible to deal with it metrically except on the assumption that *φέρω σέβω* is a corruption of the plural imperative *φέρετε*, divided into two parts, and with *-βω* added to the distortion of the second part by way of emendation.

I conceive that a simple treatment of *φλέγω* is to take it as a corruption of *φλεγέτω*.

My provisional reading will be seen in the reconstruction of the chorus which I give below. It will be noticed that I fill the antistrophic lacuna with the word *ῥοι*. I do this because the word suits the context, and is also so similar to *χορὸν* that haplography may very easily have caused its omission.

B

In the ninth line of the strophe, a lyric senarius, the fifth foot is a tribrach : in the ninth line of the antistrophe, also a lyric senarius, the fifth foot is an iamb.

The next copyist would have before him :

ἐπεὶ σύ, μήτηρ, ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν
γούους τε τὸν θανόντα πατέρα καὶ πατρίδα.

He would easily recognize that l. 316 was a senarius, and he would naturally be shocked at the occurrence of a tribrach in the sixth foot. He would cast about for a remedy. It would occur to him almost immediately that some earlier copyist had inadvertently effected a transposition, and that the τε ought properly to go with πατρίδα and the καὶ with γούους. καὶ γούους indeed would not scan ; but the slight variation καὶ γούοισι would scan very well, at least as far as the senarius was concerned—and, as regards the other lines of the chorus, how could anyone presume to say what would scan and what would not ?

Hence :

ἐπεὶ σύ, μήτηρ, ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν καὶ
γούοισι τὸν θανόντα πατέρα πατρίδα τε.

C

In the twelfth line of the strophe the seventh syllable is a long : the twelfth line of the antistrophe corresponds syllable by syllable to the twelfth line of the strophe, if we assume that between the third and fourth syllables of the strophic line a long syllable has been omitted ; but, otherwise, we are compelled to say that the fourth syllable of the strophic line is short, whereas the fourth syllable of the antistrophic line is long, and that the aforesaid seventh syllable, a long, of the strophic line is replaced in the antistrophic line by two shorts.

The lines run as follows :

(α) l. 319. ἐγὼ τόδ' ἐπὶ γάμοις ἐμοῖς

(β) l. 335. βοάσατ' εὖ τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ὦ

But it is to be observed that C gives :

βοάσατε τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ὦ,

and the Palatine MS. known as *B* apparently reads :

βάσατ' εὖ τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ὦ.

Of course if the reading of Havniensis (C) is sound, we have an instance of the disputed phenomenon unaccompanied by any breakdown of metre in the line (it is certainly possible for *αι* to be shortened before a vowel): but the authority of Havniensis is not sufficient to incline me to regard its reading as anything other than a *metri gratia* emendation.

It may however be urged that the emendation is right. Unquestionably it is within the limits of possibility that *βοάσατε* should be corrupted into *βοάσατ' εὖ*: but such corruptions are very rare. It is also, although not rare, nevertheless not quite common for *αι* to be shortened. The concurrence of these two considerations leads me, independently of whatever weight my objection to the disputed phenomenon may possess, to consider it more probable that a long syllable has vanished from the strophic line.

I read :

ἐγὼ τόδ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ γάμοις ἐμοῖς.

αὖτ' seems to me, in view of the context, to improve the sense.

Very tentatively I propose to read the whole strophe and antistrophe thus (following in some points suggestions of editors):

ΚΑΣ. ἄγετε πῦρ· φάος ἐπιφέρετε· φλεγέτω δ',	στρ.
εὐὰν εὐοῖ,	
λαμπάσι τὸ διερὸν	
(στόμα Σιμουντίου ῥοᾶς).	
ἰδοὺ ἰδού·	310
· μάκαρ ὁ γαμέτας,	
μακαρία δ' ἐγὼ βασιλίκ' εἰς λέχη	
κατ' Ἄργος ἅ γαμουμένα.	
Ἵμῆν, ὦ Ἵμέναι' ἄναξ.	
ἐπεὶ σύ, μήτερ, ἐπὶ δάκρυσι	315
γούοις τε τὸν θανόντα πατέρα καὶ πάτραν	
φίλαν καταστένουσ' ἔχεις,	
ἐγὼ τόδ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ γάμοις ἐμοῖς	
ἀναφλέγω πυρὸς φῶς	320
ἐς αὐγάν, ἐς αἴγλαν, διδοῦσ',	

ὦ Ὑμέναιε, σοί,
 διδοῦς, ὦ Ἑκάτα, φάος,
 παρθένων ἐπὶ λέκτροις,
 ἃ νόμος ἔχει.
 πάλ्लε πόδ' αἰθέριον· ἄνεχε χορόν· ὄροι', 325 ἀντ.
 εὐὰν εὐοί,
 ὥς ἐπὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ
 μακαριωτάταις τύχαις.
 (ἰώ, ἴοις.)
 ὁ χορὸς ὅσιόι σ'.
 ἄγε σὺ Φοῖβέ νιν· κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις
 ἀνάκτορον θνηπολῶ. 330
 Ὑμήν, ὦ Ὑμέναι', Ὑμήν.
 χόρενε, μᾶτερ, ἀναγέλασον,
 ἔλισσε τᾷδ' ἐκείσε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν
 φέρουσα φιλτάταν βάσιν.
 βοάσατ' εὐ τὸν Ὑμέναιον, ὦ, 335
 μακαρίαις αἰοδαῖς
 ἱακχαῖς τε νύμφαν. ἴτ', ὦ
 καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν
 κόραι, μέλπετ' ἐμὸν γάμον,
 τὸν πεπρωμένον εὐνᾷ
 πόσιν ἐμέθεν. 340

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 511-607)

This chorus consists of a first strophe and antistrophe, with an epode, of two other short strophes and antistrophes, and of a final strophe and antistrophe in hexameters.

The first strophe and antistrophe present no less than seven examples of the phenomenon I am investigating; but of these seven, five occur in manifestly corrupt contexts, and the other two are almost certainly the result of a somewhat interesting transposition by the copyists of two forms of the same word.

A, B, C AND D

In the eighth line of the first strophe the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: for these two shorts the eighth line of the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

In the ninth line of the first strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: the ninth line of the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

In the tenth line of the first strophe the second syllable is a long, and the fourth syllable is a long also: in the ninth line of the first antistrophe for each long aforesaid two shorts are substituted.

The passages are these:

- (α) ll. 518–21. Ἀργείων ὀλοίμαν (Musgrave ὀλόμαν)
τάλαινα δοριάλωτος,
ὄτ' ἔλιπον (v.l. ἔλειπον) ἵππον οὐράνια
βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνοπλον (v.l.
ἐνοπλος).

ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί.

- (β) ll. 538–41. κλωστοῦ δ' (v.l. omit δ') ἀμφιβόλοις
λίνοισι, ναὸς ὥς (v.ll. ὥς εἰς and
ὥς εἰς)

σκάφος κελαινὸν εἰς ἔδρανα

λάινα δάπεδά (v.l. πέδα) τε φονία

(v.l. φοίνιά) τε πατρίδι

Παλλάδος θέσαν θεᾶς.

In l. 538 Kirchhoff is, I think, right in arguing that the scholiast read not λίνοισι but λίνοιο. It is manifest that, as was pointed out by Matthiae, ὥς εἰς (ὥς εἰς) stands for ὥσει. But the variation between the simple ὥς and the corruptions of ὥσει seems to indicate that neither are original, but both glosses misunderstood as corrections by way of insertion.

Now if, as Kirchhoff supposes, the scholiast read λίνοιο ναὸς, nothing is easier to suppose than that the original reading was λίνοιο νιν οἶα ναὸς, and that ὥς and ὥσει are glosses on οἶα, which, when οἶα vanished, were mistaken for correctional insertions, and so were incorporated in two different versions of the text.

With my suggested reading, l. 518 corresponds exactly with l. 538, except that the last syllable of δοριάλωτος, which is short, is answered by a syllable long by position. To cure this I would suggest τάλαινα δοριάλωτός θ'.

In l. 539 I am disposed, for σκάφος κελαινόν, to substitute σκάφος, ἀχάλινον. The point seems to me to be that the *ecus durateus* was towed like a boat, not driven like a live horse.

In l. 540 there are two plain absurdities. There is a τε too many; and the adjectives attached to ἔδρανα and δάπεδα respectively are conspicuously not *in pari materia*.

As the text stands it is the second τε that is absurd. Therefore I suppose that the second τε is most unlikely to have been inserted by corruption, but that the first τε conceals something else. I pay some attention to the reading πέδα (which of course is impossible under one of Elmsley's canons), and hazard the suggestion that πέδα τε φονία τε may well disguise an original ἔδεθλα φονία τε, with τε standing third in its clause—a position which invites corruption.

The want of homogeneity between λάινα and φονία suggests strongly to my mind that λάινα is a mistake for ἐλεεινὰ.

With much doubt as to details, I write the two passages thus:

ll. 518–21. Ἀργείων ὁλόμαν τάλαινα δοριάλωτός θ',
 ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
 βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνοπλον
 ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί.

ll. 538–41. κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνιοιό νιν, οἶα ναὸς
 σκάφος, ἀχάλινον εἰς ἔδραν' ἐ-
 -λεεῖν' ἔδεθλα φονία τε πατρίδι
 Παλλάδος θέσαν θεᾶς.

But my main point is that the examples cannot be relied on.

E

I postpone the consideration of E till I come to G, as E and G are intimately related.

F

In the fifteenth line of the first strophe the two last syllables are two shorts: the fifteenth line of the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 525. τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε (v.l. ἄγετε) ξόανον

(b) l. 545. Φρύγιά τε μέλαια, παρθένοι δ'

Here is some of the antistrophic context :

ll. 545-7. παρθένοι δ'

ἀέριον ἀνὰ κρότον ποδῶν

βοάν τ' ἔμελπον εὐφρον'.

Matthiae omits τ' in l. 547. He does not explain how it ever got there; but he is clearly right in thinking that the lines as they stand make no sense. Paley states (quite impossibly) that ἀνὰ has the force of ἀνήειρον. In imperative sentences such uses are not foreign to human speech. "A bas le roi" is common French; but "Ils à bas le roi" is no sort of language. Professor Tyrrell thinks that ἀνὰ goes with ἔμελπον, by tmesis. But this involves the fantastic consequence that μέλπειν κρότον ποδῶν is possible Greek.

It is to my mind obvious that we must read :

παρθένια δ'

ἀέριον ἀνὰ κρότον ποδῶν

βοάν τ' ἔμελπον εὐφρον'.

E AND G .

Instance E arises as follows.

In the twelfth line of the first strophe the first two syllables are two shorts: in the twelfth line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are (in different MSS.) replaced by one long, or regularly answered by two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 522. ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεώς

(b) l. 542. ἐν δὲ πόνῳ καὶ χαρᾷ (so B and C),

or ἐπὶ δὲ πόνῳ καὶ χαρᾷ (so A and B)

That the ἀνὰ of the strophic line is not a mistake for ἀν seems to be proved by the Hesychian ἀναδεβόας, ὁ λεὼς ἀνεβόησε δὲ ὁ λαός.

The authority of Vaticanus and Havniensis in combination is sufficient, though not overwhelmingly great, to put the reading $\epsilon\pi\iota$ in the antistrophic line almost out of court. What $\epsilon\pi\iota$ does seem to indicate under the circumstances is the existence at a comparatively early period of a reading $\epsilon\nu\iota$. Is there any special reason why in Vaticanus and Havniensis a presumably original $\epsilon\nu\iota$ should appear as $\epsilon\nu$? We must consult instance G.

Instance G comes into being thus.

In the seventeenth line of the first strophe the last syllable is a long: in the seventeenth line of the first antistrophe that long is (in different MSS.) replaced by two shorts, or regularly answered by one long.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 527. $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma \text{ οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων}$

(b) l. 547. $\beta\omicron\alpha\nu \text{ ἔμελπον εὐφρον' } \underline{\epsilon\nu\iota}$ (so Vaticanus and Havniensis),

or $\beta\omicron\alpha\nu \text{ ἔμελπον εὐφρον' } \underline{\epsilon\nu}$

I make little doubt on this evidence but that some prototype of Vaticanus and Havniensis presented $\epsilon\nu$ both in l. 542 and in l. 547. The corruption of $\epsilon\nu\iota$ into $\epsilon\nu$ is most easy. But such a corruption would not escape a competent diorthotes. What seems to be proved is that a competent diorthotes was not absent; but that his marginal correction, $\epsilon\nu\iota$, written somewhere near l. 542, and meant to apply to that line, was, simply because the $\epsilon\nu$ of l. 547 comes at the end of a line and therefore in the neighbourhood of the sinister margin, where corrections would more naturally be written than in the dexter margin, whereas the $\epsilon\nu$ ($\epsilon\nu\iota$) of l. 542 comes at the beginning of a line and therefore in the neighbourhood of the dexter margin, taken to apply to the latter line.

The result is a kind of transposition.

The other MSS. were saved from this, apparently because their prototypes had lacked a diorthotes to correct their $\epsilon\pi\iota$ of l. 542 to $\epsilon\nu\iota$, and therefore there was nothing to corrupt the original and genuine $\epsilon\nu$ of l. 547.

If I am right in these inferences, we have here an

instance of the more carefully edited MSS. getting, metrically speaking, into a false position from which the less carefully edited MSS., simply by reason of less careful editing, were saved. *Corruptio optimi pessima*.

The epode extends from l. 551 to l. 567. Then follow a few regular anapaestic lines, which the MSS. divide between the chorus and Hecuba, but which Kirchhoff, followed by other editors, considers should be assigned wholly to the chorus. The second strophe and antistrophe extend from l. 577 to l. 586. This strophe and antistrophe exhibit one correspondence which must technically be regarded as an example of the phenomenon, the validity of which is the subject of my investigation.

H

In the fifth line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the fifth line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by the -εως of πόλεως, which -εως is manifestly to be scanned, as the text stands, as one long syllable.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 581. EK. τέκεα, AN. πρίν ποτ' ἦμεν

(β) l. 586. AN. πόλεως, EK. ἂ καπνοῦται

For πόλεως Seidler reads πόλεος, and has been followed by the editors.

But I am not altogether convinced that the form πόλεος is permissible in lyrics. It is certainly good Ionic, at least in its contracted form πόλεος (e.g. Theognis 776 τῆσδε πόλεος, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ); and, no doubt, it is the right reading in six places in tragic trimeters (Aeschylus, *Septem* 218 and *Supplices* 344, Sophocles, *Antigone* 162, and Euripides, *Electra* 412, *Ion* 595, and *Orestes* 897; like κόνεος in Euripides, *Cyclops* 641, and ὄφεος in Euripides, *Bacchae* 1027 and 1331, and *Supplices* 703). But it is surely admitted into trimeters because it is Ionic. Now not Ionisms but Dorisms (though sometimes they are identical) are admitted into lyrics. If therefore πόλεος is admissible

in lyrics, it must be Doric as well as Ionic. But I know of no evidence for any Doric form but πόλιος. Therefore I would read πόλιος here.

The third strophe and antistrophe reach from l. 587 to l. 594. They present no instance of my phenomenon.

We now come, at the end of the chorus, to its fourth strophe and antistrophe, which are composed in hexameters.

They run thus in the MSS. :

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΗ

οἱ δὲ πόθοι μεγάλοι· σχέτλια τάδε πάσχομεν ἄλγη
οἰχομένας πόλεως, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κεῖνται (*A* and *B*
alone substitute κεῖται)
δυσφροσύναισι θεῶν, ὅτε (*A* and *B* read ὁ δὲ for ὅτε) σὸς
γόνος ἔφυγεν ἄδαν,
ὅς λεχέων στυγερῶν χάριν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Τροίας.
αἱματόεντα δὲ θεᾶ παρὰ Παλλάδι σώματα νεκρῶν
γυνὴ φέρειν τέταται (*A* and *B* alone substitute τέταται).
ζυγὰ δ' ἤνυσε δούλια Τροία.

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ὦ πατρίς, ὦ μελέα, καταλειπομένην (*B* καταλειπομένα, *A*
κάτω λειπομένην) σε δακρύω,
νῦν τέλος οἰκτρὸν ὄρᾱς, καὶ ἐμὸν (*B* καὶ ἐγὼ, *A* καὶ γώ) δόμον
(*A* and *B* δόμων), ἔνθ' ἐλοχεύθην.
ὦ τέκν', ἔρημος πόλις μάτηρ, ἀπολείπεται ὑμῶν.
* * * * * οἶος ἰάλεμος, οἷά τε πένθη
δάκρυά τ' ἐκ δακρύων καταλείβεται * * * * *
ἀμετέροισι δόμοισιν. ὁ θανὼν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων ἀδάκρυτος.

This strophe and antistrophe present only one example of the phenomenon I am discussing.

I

In the third line of the fourth strophe (a lyrical hexameter) the third foot is a dactyl (and the fifth foot is corrupted into a tribrach): in the third line of the fourth antistrophe (a lyrical hexameter) the third foot is a

spondee (while the second foot is corrupted into the form --υ).

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 597. δυσφροσύναισι θεῶν, ὅτε (v.l. ὁ δέ) σὸς γόνος
ἔφυγεν Ἄιδαν
(β) l. 603. ὦ τέκν', ἔρημος πόλις μάτηρ, ἀπολείπεται ὑμῶν

I doubt whether I can with advantage deal with these two lines except in the course of a treatment of the whole strophe and antistrophe.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of the strophe and antistrophe is the strange perversion of metre at several points. This perversion is carried still further in the Aldine edition, which actually reads (I suppose on the authority of some MS. now lost, for it is difficult to suspect an Aldine editor of originating such a reading) l. 603 in the form :

ὦ τέκν', ἔρημος πόλις ἅ μάτηρ, ἀπολείπεθ' ὑμῶν.

Yet, on the other hand, the Aldine edition gives ἔκφυγεν for ἔφυγεν in l. 597, and δόμοις for δόμοισιν in l. 606.

It is fairly evident, though it is difficult to see how such a state of things can have arisen, that at some period or other the hexametrical character of the whole became obscured in the minds of copyists, and that unmetrical deviations from the hexametrical metre which crept by corruption into strophe or antistrophe were intentionally balanced by deliberate alterations of the corresponding parts of antistrophe or strophe. Afterwards attempts were made to get back to the hexameter metre.

Thus in l. 595 the unmetrical σχέτλια must almost necessarily be due to καταλιπομέναν having at one time been accidentally read in l. 601 instead of καταλειπομέναν. καταλειπομέναν has naturally and obviously been restored, and καταλιπομέναν is read in no MS. But σχέτλια remains uncorrected in the MSS., because no easy correction occurred to the copyists. The reason why no easy correction was at hand is not far to seek. In order to make σχέτλια grammatically possible, it was necessary to

change the substantive with which *σχέτλια* had to agree. *ἄλλη* cannot be original. This is proved by the fact that *ἄλλη* stands *in hiatus* before a vowel at the beginning of the next line, whereas the last word of the antistrophic line is *δακρύω*, and the next line begins with a consonant.

I think it extremely probable that the original reading l. 595 was *σχετλίαν τάδε πάσχομεν ἀρχὰν*. I suppose that *ἀρχὰν* passed into *ἀρχήν*, and that, when *καταλιπομέναν* made its appearance in l. 601, some copyist found it an easy matter to change, for the sake of correspondence, *σχετλίαν τάδε πάσχομεν ἀρχήν* into *σχέτλια τάδε πάσχομεν ἄλλη*.

ἀρχὰν furnishes an excellent antithesis to *ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κεῖνται*, and quite apart from metre the occurrence of those words in l. 596 makes it impossible that the word *ἄλλη* should originally have ended l. 595.

Again, in l. 600 *τέτακται* for *τέταται* is a natural slip. There is a pause in sense after *γυψὶ φέρειν τέτακται*. In the corresponding antistrophic line (606) we read :

ἀμετέροισι δόμοισιν. ὁ θανὼν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων ἀδάκρυτος.

With the extra-metrical *ἀδάκρυτος* at the end I shall presently deal. It is sufficient now to note that

ἀμετέροισι δόμοισιν. ὁ θανὼν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων

is a perfectly good hexameter, if only we write *δόμοις* instead of *δόμοισιν*. Why then does *δόμοισιν* appear in every MS.? Simply because there is a stop after *δόμοισιν* similar to the stop after *τέτακται* in l. 600.

γυψὶ φέρειν τέτακται

was considered to be a line by itself, and consequently

ἀμετέροισι δόμοις

a line by itself also. But

ἀμετέροισι δόμοις

failed to answer

γυψὶ φέρειν τέτακται.

Consequently it was changed into the form

ἀμετέροις δόμοισιν,

which answers completely.

Thus the whole antistrophic hexameter became :

ἀμετέροις δόμοισιν. ὁ θανὼν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων.

The addition of ἀδάκρυτος at the end concealed the fact that the latter portion of the line was of an hexametrical nature. Consequently no copyist ever restored δόμοις for δόμοισιν. But the first two feet are in the context sufficiently plainly dactylic for a restoration ἀμετέροισι δόμοισιν to have driven out ἀμετέροις δόμοισιν from all our MSS. It must be remembered that the pause in sense after δόμοισιν effectually divides the line into two parts, and that I am making no arbitrary distinction and drawing no unscientific frontier.

So much for the interaction of strophe and antistrophe.

The next point of interest is the reading in l. 597.

I think we may fairly adopt the Aldine ἔκφυγεν. Unaugmented aorist indicatives must have been a puzzle to copyists whose ignorance of the hexametrical metre shows that they cannot have been familiar with Homer. But given ἔκφυγεν ἄδαν, whether with ὅτε or ὁ δέ, what sense are we to attach to it? It would be nothing short of preposterous after either φεύγειν or ἐκφεύγειν to assign to the accusative the force of the *terminus ad quem*. Escape from Hades, not to Hades, is indicated as plainly as language can indicate anything. But Paris had emphatically not escaped from Hades : on the contrary he had died ; and there is no possible question of his having been brought back to life (which sense indeed the words might well bear).

Professor Tyrrell asserts that Andromache "has not heard of the death of Paris," and refers the reader to l. 952. In l. 952 Helen, in the presence of the chorus, speaks unambiguously of Paris as dead, and that not by way of announcing a piece of news, but by way of reference to a well-known fact. The chorus, who interpose a few lines later, make not the slightest comment on the death

of Paris, whereas, had it been news to them, they would surely have remarked upon it.

Here too, during Andromache's lament and Hecuba's reply, the chorus are listening to what is said; and immediately afterwards they interpose an observation. But they do not in any way hint that Andromache is in error in anything she has said. Can it be supposed that the chorus, supposing they knew that Paris was dead, would have passed *sub silentio* an emphatic statement of Andromache's that he was alive?

We are thus confronted with a difficulty. The chorus hear Andromache say that Paris is alive: they make no comment. Shortly afterwards they hear Helen say incidentally, but with the utmost plainness, that Paris is dead, and they hear her say it in language suitable only to the mention of a well-known fact: again they make no comment. What an apathetic chorus!

But perhaps it may be said that the chorus learn of the death of Paris at some point intermediate between the remarks of Andromache and those of Helen. The play is in the reader's hands, and he may search it through and through without finding that any information of the kind reached the chorus in the interval.

The conclusion is to my mind irresistible. The chorus knew from the beginning of the play that Paris was dead. Consequently, if Andromache had really said:

ὄτε (or ὁ δὲ) σὸς γόνος ἔκφυγεν "Αἶδαν,

they would have contradicted her. Ergo, Andromache never used those words at all.

Another line of argument tends to the same conclusion.

Helen (ll. 951-60 of this play) says that after the death of Paris she wished to leave the city and go to the Greek ships, and she speaks of warders and watchers often preventing her from letting herself down over the battlements. And she goes on to say that Deiphobus kept her by force as his wife. All this shows abundantly that Paris had died, and was known in Troy to have died, some appreciable time before the capture of the city.

How then can Andromache possibly have been ignorant of her death?

Under these circumstances, I do not hesitate to read :

ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κείνται
δυσφροσύναισι θεῶν, ὅτε σὸς γόνος ἔκφυγε νηδύν.

The grammar of ὅτε ἔκφυγε after κείνται is unaffected by the change of substantival object, but it deserves a little attention. Nearly all editors read ὅτε, not ὁ δὲ. Professor Tyrrell reads ὁ δὲ. Of course ὁ δὲ is impossible, if we read νηδύν.

I think that κείνται ὅτε ἔκφυγε is quite good Greek. In English it is impossible to append 'when' with an aorist (if I may so express myself) to a verb in the perfect tense. 'I have killed him, when I saw him' is obviously ungrammatical (see, however, Psalm iv. 1 in the Prayer Book version: "Thou hast set me at liberty when I was in trouble"). But the Greek perfect is very different from the English. κείσθαι is idiomatically the perfect passive of τιθέναι. In this passage the perfect passive is what Professor Gildersleeve well calls the "perfect of maintenance of result." That is to say κείνται has much of the force 'were durably established,' not, I conceive, 'have been durably established.' I think that an exactly similar construction is to be found in Sophocles, *Antigone* (ll. 170-3) :

ὅτ' οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν
καθ' ἡμέραν ὦλοντο παίσαντές τε καὶ
πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι,
ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω.

ἔχω there is as much a perfect as κείνται in the *Troades*, and it is coupled with an aorist, not a perfect. Of course, if ὅτε can be causal, neither passage exhibits any idiomatic peculiarity; but the dictionary instances and my reading fail to convince me of the existence of a causal ὅτε.

As regards the appropriateness of νηδύν, the word fits in perfectly with the legend recorded in the *Andromache*, ll. 293-308, and mentioned with variations in other

authors. It was the birth of Paris that was of evil omen to the Trojans.

It is to be observed that the last syllable of *νηδύν* is most regularly long according to the grammarians (see Dindorf's Stephanus, s.v.), although on the extant evidence, apart from the grammarians, the short scansion has the better authority. Here the antistrophe requires the long scansion, and it is to be noted that only that scansion is to be found in hexameters, though the nominative singular is short once in Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis* 60).

In the second line of the antistrophe (l. 602) it is incredible that Hecuba, addressing her native country, should say: 'Now thou beholdest the' (or 'thy') 'bitter end, and my house, where I was born.' 'End' and 'house' are not *in pari materia*. 'My house in ruins' would make some sense, as being equivalent to 'the end of my house.' 'My house' alone in such a context is one of those expressions which no one would attempt to justify, if he were not sophisticated by a long process of training in the art of interpreting as sense matter that is really nonsense.

I have little doubt that for *δόμον* we ought to read *δόμου*. As this emendation sets up a distinction between the end of the country and the end of the house, it becomes necessary to express, not to understand, the personal pronoun *σὸν* with the former. I therefore substitute *σὸν* for *νὺν*.

But with what real propriety can Hecuba's native land be apostrophized as beholding not merely its own end, but also either Hecuba's house, or, as I think, the end of Hecuba's house? Surely it is Hecuba herself that beholds the end alike of her country and of her house.

Therefore I read :

ὦ πατρίς, ὦ μελέα, καταλειπομένην σε δακρύω,
σὸν τέλος οἰκτρὸν ὀρώσ' ἅμα καὶ δόμου ἔνθ' ἐλοχέυθην.

Thus and thus only, as it seems to me, if we are to pay any attention to the *ductus literarum*, can we obtain coherent sense.

In the next antistrophic line, every editor in recent

times has gone gravely astray by adopting Seidler's superficial emendation *ἐρημόπολις*.

It is to be noted that these hexameters are purely dactylic, except for the fact that a spondee is presented in the third foot of this line.

Hence, in objecting to the spondee in question, I am objecting not only to an instance of the phenomenon which I impugn, but also to a solitary interruption of a well-defined series of dactyls. I therefore propose with some confidence :

ὦ τέκν', ἐρῆμ' ἀπολείσθε· μάτην ἀπολείπεται ὑμῖν,

and I would continue :

δυσβίωτος βίος· οἶος ἰάλεμος οἶά τε πένθη
δάκρυνά τ' ἐκ δακρύνων καταλείβεται.

Compare Oedipus' lament over his daughters at the end of the *Tyrannus*.

In the lacuna in l. 604 I conjecturally insert *βίος* before *οἶος* on the ground that in that position *βίος* might easily have disappeared by virtue of haplography. For exactly the same reason I put *δυσβίωτος* before *βίος*. Some quite unusual series of repetitions of identical or similar sets of letters seems to be the simplest way of accounting for the loss of two whole dactyls.

The missing end of l. 605 and the restoration of l. 606 do not seem to me to present much difficulty.

I think we have already got the clue by reading :

ὦ τέκν', ἐρῆμ' ἀπολείσθε· μάτην ἀπολείπεται ὑμῖν κτλ.

The contrast is between the miserable future of Hecuba's living daughters, and the comparatively happy fate of her dead son. And her dead son can in the context only be Paris.

The word *ἀδάκρυτος* has somehow been shifted from the end of l. 605 to that of l. 606. How? Because, I suppose, *ἀλγέων* somewhat resembled the word that originally came before *ἀδάκρυτος*.

Therefore I read :

δάκρυνά τ' ἐκ δακρύων καταλείβεται. ἀλλ' ἀδάκρυτος,

but I cannot continue with the words ἀμετέροισι δόμοις.

In the first place they do not make sense: in the second place they offend against metre. Comparison with the strophe will show that the last syllable of ἀδάκρυτος has to be long. In other words, l. 606 must begin with a consonant.

Correction is simple. Read :

ἀλλ' ἀδάκρυτος
κὰν ἐτέροισι δόμοις ὁ θανὼν ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων.

I translate: 'But free from tears, and in another home, he that is dead forgetteth sorrow.'

Compare Milton's :

Where, *other groves and other streams along,*
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
.
There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops and sweet societies,
That sing, and, singing, in their glory move,
And *wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.*

Compare also Drummond's *Tears on the Death of Moeliades* :

Other hills and forrests, other sumptuous towers,
Amaz'd thou find'st, excelling our poor bowers.

I read the whole strophe and antistrophe thus :

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΗ

οἷδε πόθοι μεγάλοι· σχετλίαν τάδε πάσχομεν ἀρχὰν 595 στρ. γ'
οἰχομένας πόλεως, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κεῖνται
δυσφροσύναισι θεῶν, ὅτε σὸς γόνος ἔκφυγε νηδύν,
ὃς λεχέων στυγερῶν χάριν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Τροίας.
αἱματόεντα δὲ θεᾶ παρὰ Παλλάδι σώματα νεκρῶν
γυφὶ φέρειν τέταται· ζυγὰ δ' ἤνυσσε δούλια Τροία.

EKABH

ὦ πατρίς, ὦ μελέα, καταλειπομέναν σε δακρύω, ἄντ. γ'
 σὸν τέλος οἰκτρὸν ὀρώσ' ἅμα καὶ δόμου, ἔνθ' ἐλοχεύθην.
 ὦ τέκν', ἐρῆμ' ἀπολεῖσθε· μάτην ἀπολείπεται ὑμῖν
 δυσβίωτος βίος· οἷος ἰάλεμος οἶά τε πένθη
 δάκρυνά τ' ἐκ δακρύων καταλείβεται. ἀλλ' ἀδάκρυτος 605
 κὰν ἑτέροισι δόμοις ὁ θανὼν ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων.

I am not quite certain that οἷδε πόθοι μεγάλοι can bear in the context any sufficiently appropriate meaning to justify us in believing that the words as they stand were written by Euripides. I shall not attempt emendation, but, in case anyone wishes to emend, I refer him to Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 25 ἔπαθον αἰ μεγάλα. It would be easy to build up a reading on that basis.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 799–859)

This chorus consists of two strophes and antistrophes.

A

In the fifth line of the first strophe (a lyrical hexameter) in all MSS. but one the fifth foot is represented by a long syllable only, but in one MS. it is a spondee: in the fifth line of the first antistrophe (a lyrical hexameter) the fifth foot is a dactyl. It is to be observed that both lines are otherwise dactylic.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 803. οὐράνιον στέφανον λιπαραῖς κόσμον Ἀθήναις
 (or in *B*):

οὐράνιον στέφανον λιπαραῖσιν κόσμον Ἀθήναις

(b) l. 814. Λαομέδοντι φόνον· κανόνων δὲ τυκίσματα
 Φοίβου

Seidler is no doubt right in reading λιπαραῖσί τε κόσμον. The τε is used as Horace often uses *-que*, that is to say it is put after a word common to both members of the sentence. The peculiar thing is that the copyists of the *Troades* should have been acute enough to notice a

deviation of this sort from the more general usage. It seems clear that they did notice it, as otherwise one cannot account for the loss of the $\tau\epsilon$. The copyists in question could not scan a hexameter, and therefore may have been the same set who were concerned in the botching of the end of the fourth chorus. I do not think that any play except the *Troades* shows signs of having passed through similar hands.

B AND C

In the ninth line of the first strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts, and the last two syllables also two shorts: in the ninth line of the first antistrophe each set of two shorts is replaced by one long, and moreover the quantities of the seventh and eighth syllables of the strophic line are transposed.

The lines are these:

- (α) 1. 807. ἀμετέραν τὸ πάροιθεν ὅτ' ἔβας ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος
(b) 1. 819. Δαρδανίας φοινία κατέλυσεν αἰχμὰ

For *πάροιθεν* Florentine b (Vossii) and *B* give *πάροιθ'*. For *φοινία* Florentine b (Vossii) presents *φοίνια*.

τὸ πάροιθεν and φοινία balance one another in an ingenious but quite impossible manner. No doubt we must restore (with the Aldine editor) *φονία*. This would involve adopting in the strophic line the reading τὸ πάροιθ', if we were sure that ὅτ' ἔβας was genuine. If it is not, and if there is in consequence a lacuna, *πάροιθεν* may stand, even if *φονία* is adopted.

Dindorf rejects ὅτ' ἔβας ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος as an interpolation. He has in his favour the fact that the next line begins with the words ὅθ' Ἑλλάδος. But Hermann recasts the expression into the form ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος γὰς.

On the whole I am inclined to agree with Hermann. The line is the last line of the strophe, and I do not think the occurrence of Ἑλλάδος in the first line of the antistrophe makes against its occurrence where suggested by Hermann in the previous line. Under the particular circumstances

I regard the repetition as a rather elegant example of what is really a species of epanaphora.

The repetition of ὅτε as well would be quite a different matter.

We now come to the second strophe and antistrophe.

Before dealing with my strict subject matter, as presented therein, I would call attention to the circumstances connected with the intrusion of a gloss into the text in l. 825.

We there read :

ἀ δέ σε γειναμένα Τροία πυρὶ δαίεται.

The antistrophe makes it certain, as Musgrave was the first to see, that Τροία is an intrusive gloss.

Now it is against all the evidence that I have gathered with regard to glosses for them to intrude into the text, unless some accompanying circumstance causes them to be mistaken for something else than glosses. Is there such a circumstance here, and, if so, what is it ?

I am almost sure that Τροία, owing to the similarity of the *ductus literarum*, was thought to be intended as a diorthotic correction of πυρὶ. It replaced πυρὶ in some copies (so I assume). Then πυρὶ was put side by side with it in the text by a copyist who had both readings before him.

To my mind, and this is the important thing, Τροία would have been quite unable to get into the text on the mere strength of its having been written as a marginal gloss. For that some additional circumstance was needed. That circumstance was found in an accidental likeness to the word πυρὶ.

D

In the eleventh line of the second strophe (the antecedent context has gone hopelessly to pieces, either here or in the antistrophe) the fourth syllable is a long, except that in one MS. two shorts are substituted : in the eleventh line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 830.

οἶω-

-νὸς (*B* οἶωνοι) ὑπὲρ τέκνων (*B* τοκέων) βοᾷ

(b) l. 849. Ἀμέρας φίλιον (*B* φίλας) βροτοῖς

I have followed Nauck's numeration, but at this point I totally fail to understand it.

It will be observed that the reading of *B* in strophe and antistrophe, though metrically reconcilable by synizesis in the strophe, *prima facie* reverses the order of the two sub-phenomena which together constitute my phenomenon. But the reading of *B* in the antistrophe is, in view of the context, negligible.

We often see that the forms of τέκος are replaced by forms of τέκνον. I suppose that τέκος became unintelligible. No doubt the intelligible, though inappropriate, τοκέων of *B* represents an original τεκέων, which editors are right in reading.

E

In the sixteenth line of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts : in the sixteenth line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The passages are these :

(a) ll. 834-6. γυμνασίῳ τε δρόμοι
βεβᾶσι· σὺ δὲ πρόσωπα νεα-
-ρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις
καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις

(b) ll. 854-7. γᾶς πόσιν ἐν θαλάμοις,
ὃν ἀστέρων τέθριππος ἔλα-
-βε χρύσεος ὄχος ἀναρπάσας
ἐλπίδα γὰρ πατρίᾳ

It is to be noted that the integrity of ἀστέρων τέθριππος is guaranteed by Hesychius.

I read :

- (α) γυμνασίων τε δρόμοι
 βεβᾶσ' · αἰὲν πρόσωπα νεα-
 -ρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις
 καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις
 (β) γᾶς πόσιν ἐν θαλάμοις,
 ὃν ἀστέρων τέθριππος ἔλα-
 -βε χρύσεος ὄχος ἀναρπάσας
 ἐλπίδα γᾶ πατρία

Observe that the strophe continues :

Πριάμοιο δὲ γαῖαν Ἑλλὰς ὤλεσ' αἰχμᾶ.

It is to this that the *πρόσωπα νεα*ρὰ clause is opposed. σὺ is a dittography of the last syllable of βεβᾶσ' (in the form βεβᾶσι), and ΑΕΙ has, as elsewhere, become ΔΕ.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1060–1122)

This chorus consists of two strophes and antistrophes.

A

In the sixth line of the first strophe the sixth and seventh syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

These are the lines :

- (α) l. 1065. κα-
 -πνὸν καὶ Πέργαμον ιέραν
 (β) l. 1076. σελᾶ-
 -ναι σὺν δώδεκα πλήθει

For *ιέραν* Heath rightly reads *ιράν*, and for *σὺν δώδεκα* Barnes no less rightly reads *συνδώδεκα*: the editors follow them. They almost always follow anyone who eliminates an example of the phenomenon to which I object, if he does so by means of so trifling a change as that of *ιέραν* to *ιράν*. But if the phenomenon is permissible, it is extremely difficult to see why, in order to gain some

subtle effect, lyric writers should not occasionally have written *ἱεράν* even in places where *ἱράν* would present the more normal metre. Editors therefore are, on their own avowed principles, doing something rash in printing such emendations in the text. But I suspect that most editors go a little beyond what they avow, and, without taking any determined position, welcome any very easy means of getting rid of any particular example of the phenomenon.

B

In the seventh line of the first strophe the ninth and tenth syllables are two shorts: in the seventh line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines run thus:

(a) l. 1066. Ἰδαῖά τ' Ἰδαῖα κισσοφόρα νάπη

(b) l. 1077. μέλει μέλει μοι τάδ', εἰ φρονεῖς, ἄναξ

This is a most highly illuminative example. I have considered it at some length with my eyes actually fixed on the slopes of the Phrygian Ida.

The strophic context is this:

ll. 1066-7. Ἰδαῖά τ' Ἰδαῖα κισσοφόρα νάπη
 χιόνι κατάρρυντα ποταμῖα

It is notorious that the tree with which Ida was especially associated was the pine. Ivy may under some circumstances be induced to climb pine-trees; but it is a matter of common knowledge that pine forests are not the habitat of that plant.

As far as I have observed, ivy only attaches itself to conifers (and that somewhat seldom), when they are growing in the immediate vicinity of other trees. Good examples may be seen at Mickleham and at Poitiers. The case seems to be the same with regard to cork-trees in the Landes. But in the real South I do not remember seeing ivy on a conifer except in a plantation a little to the Rome-ward side of Castel Gandolfo.

The alternative is to suppose that by νάπη Euripides

indicates gorges with ivy adhering, not to trees, but to the rocks themselves. This would indeed give to *κισσοφόρα* a better meaning. It would avoid the awkwardness of describing a place as ivy-bearing, when in fact it bore forest-trees, and the ivy was only an unimportant adjunct of those trees.

But to any one who knows the district, with its arid and crumbling soil, the idea of gorges, or the like, green with mantling ivy is an absurdity. Neither is it at all a natural notion to occur to a Greek writer. Greece itself, with all its beauties, is, when once one leaves the fertile plains, only a little less destitute of verdure than the Asiatic coast.

On these grounds, quite independently of metrical considerations, I should suggest a compound not of *κισσός* but of *πίσσα*. *πισσοφόρα νάπη* would make excellent sense, and I believe it once was read. l. 1067 has a curious bearing on the subject, as will be seen if we consult Plutarch (*Mor.* 648 D): οἱ ὄρεινοὶ καὶ πνευματώδεις καὶ νιφόμενοι τόποι τὰ δαδῶδη καὶ πισσοτρόφα τῶν φυτῶν, μάλιστα πεύκας καὶ στροβίλους, ἐκφέρουσι.

But something much better than *πισσοφόρα* can be obtained, if we consent to emend further on the supposition that the phenomenon to which I object is illegitimate.

The *νάπη* are, most properly, not mountain dells, but the woods that grow in mountain dells. Any one who is familiar with pine forests must have often remarked the notches cut in the sides of the trees and the little cups fastened underneath to catch for commercial purposes the stream of turpentine. It is in the highest degree characteristic of Greek art to combine the description of ideal beauty with that of material advantage. Greek art "sees life steadily, and sees it whole."

One of the most frequent forms of corruption is the insertion of two or three letters in the middle of a word unintelligible to the copyist with a view to transforming it into a word that he can understand.

I have hardly any doubt at all that Euripides here wrote *πισσόρα νάπη*. *πισσόρα* is the neuter plural of

πισσόροος. It would usually be called the contracted neuter plural. But contraction is hardly the right term. In Attic (and Attic invades Attic lyric) the rules of crasis, as distinguished from those of contraction proper, govern the non-inherited fusion of two syllables, when the latter of those two syllables is a significant declensional vowel. διπλᾶ arises from διπλόα. By strict contraction διπλόα could only yield διπλῶ. But, just as ὁ ἀνὴρ passes by Attic crasis into ἀνὴρ (not ὀνήρ), because the *a* is an essential part of the substantive, and must be preserved at any price, so διπλόα becomes by crasis διπλᾶ, because the *a* is the significant vowel of the neuter plural, and similarly must be preserved *coûte que coûte*. Hence I hesitate to speak of πισσόρα as a "contracted" form.

I take it for granted that there were many generations of copyists to whom the neuter plural with the crasis would have been quite unintelligible. Hence πισσοφόρα, and its offspring κισσοφόρα.

An additional reason why copyists should have objected to πισσόρα is to be found in the fact that the *ρ* is single—that the word is not here πισσόρρα. This fact may well have counted for much.

In the very next line we read (see the quotation above) κατάρρυντα in all the MSS.; but a comparison with the corresponding antistrophic line (where the answering syllable is indeed theoretically common, but much more naturally short than long) has caused editors at large (and the natural run of the metre bears them out) to read with Seidler κατάρυντα. An examination of lyrics in general shows that they by no means demand a double *ρ* in such cases.

I think that it is surprising (if, that is, my fundamental thesis is wrong) that so large a number of examples, *prima facie* well established, of the phenomenon which I dispute should be susceptible, when considered on their special merits, of emendation of a kind more or less similar to that which I here propose. The validity of an argument of this nature can naturally be judged only after a detailed consideration of, at any rate, a considerable portion of this tractate.

C AND D

In the ninth line of the first strophe the fifth syllable is a long, and the sixth and seventh syllables two shorts: in the ninth line of the first antistrophe the long is replaced by two shorts, and the two shorts by a long. Moreover the ninth syllable of the strophic line is long, but the ninth syllable of the antistrophic line is short.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1068. *τέρμονά τε πρωτόβολον ἀλίφ*

(β) l. 1079. *αἰθέρα τε πόλεως ὀλομένας*

The antistrophic reading is more or less guaranteed by Hesychius, as far, that is to say, as *αἰθέρα* is concerned.

It is obvious, and admitted by the editors, that the two lines do not answer one another. Seidler, followed (though not in the text) by Kirchhoff, reads the strophic line thus:

τέρμονά τε πρόβολον ἀλίφ.

I am unable to assent to *πρόβολον* with the meaning required.

Hermann reads the antistrophic line:

αἰθέρα τ' ἐμᾶς πόλεος ὀλομένας.

If we went on in the strophic line to substitute *ἄελίφ* for *ἀλίφ*, this suggestion of Hermann would yield perfect correspondence. But I cannot accept it. To insert *ἐμᾶς* is violent. Why was the word omitted?

Proceeding without violence and on ordinary lines, I think we can recover the original.

I read:

(α) *τέρμα τε πρωτόβολον ἄελίφ*

(β) *αἰθέρα τε πτόλιος ὀλομένας*

The only two points in my reading which require comment are the insertion of *-ον-* in the vulgate in the middle of *τέρμα*, and the assumed change of *πτόλιος* into *πόλεως*.

The latter is an example of two familiar kinds of

corruption. Both *πτόλις* and *πτόλεμος* frequently cause difficulty, and Attic terminations have a way of getting themselves substituted for those of the Doric dialect.

The former point needs more attention. We have seen (example D), if I am right, the letters *φο* inserted in the middle of a word. Similar interpolations are not at all infrequent. This very chorus furnishes an undeniable example of exactly the same insertion (that of *-ον-*) which I assume here.

In all the MSS. the word *ἄνδρος* in l. 1084, which all modern editors necessarily and inevitably print in that form, is presented under the strange guise *ἀνύδρονος*.

The context there is :

ἄθαπτος, ἀνύδρονος, ἐμὲ δὲ πόντιον σκάφος.

It is fairly evident that *ἄνδρος* has had a syllable interpolated with the object of continuing the series of trisyllabic feet to as late a point as possible in the lyrical trimeter, even though the result be dissonant with the correspondent antistrophic line.

The result is that we obtain a kind of Aristophanic trimeter, with an anapaest in the fourth foot, viz. :

ἄθαπτ|ος, ἀνύδρ|ονος, ἐμ|ὲ δὲ πόντ|ιον | σκάφος |,

instead of :

ἄθαπτ|ος, ἄνυδρ|ος, ἐμὲ | δὲ πόντ|ιον | σκάφος |.

Can we discern any reason for the insertion of *-ον-* in the middle of *τέρμα*? I think the reason is far plainer than in the case of *ἄνδρος*.

The copyist was simply counting syllables, without regard to quantity. In other words, he was applying Technical principles. He did not do so in the case of *ἄνδρος*, because the line in which that word occurs is so manifestly a quantitative trimeter as to make a mistake as to its nature impossible. It was far otherwise with the loose lyric metre of l. 1068.

ἀελίφ was very naturally corrupted into *ἀλίφ*. That fact made the strophic line (irrespective of quantity) a syllable shorter than the antistrophic line. The copyist

thought he knew enough of metre to remedy that, so he pitchforked the syllable *-ov-* into the middle of *τέρμα*.

I must revert for a moment to *ἀνύδρονος*. It throws a certain light on the date of the worse corruptions in the *Troades*. If the misreading did not exist, I should have doubted whether it could ever have arisen, with such outrageous disregard of all rule as the word formed. And yet the word occurs, not in one MS., nor in two, but in all. That is to say, it is a corruption due to the prototype of all our existing MSS.: it lays bare the extreme depravation of the sole line of tradition which we possess.

Now it appears to be self-evident that no Greek can possibly have coined the word *ἀνύδρονος* instead of *ἄνυδρος* (how it was coined at all I cannot guess) until at any rate the recollection of the true forms of *ὑδωρ* and its compounds had passed from men's minds. In other words, *ἀνύδρονος* must date from a period when *νερόν* had already supplanted *ὑδωρ* as the word for 'water.' Will any scholar assert that such a period can be earlier than the ninth, or at any rate the eighth century after Christ?

Everything about the *Troades* seems to me to point in the same direction, the direction, that is, of uniquely late and uniquely ignorant tampering with the text. I must make an apparent exception in the case of Political paraphrases of certain choruses in other plays; but that is hardly corruption in the strict sense of the word.

E, F AND G

We now come to a sample of corruption of a type which, though rare, is by no means without parallel. The text has been interlineated, no doubt for the purposes of comparison, with two parallel passages from other plays; and the result is that the interlineations have ousted nearly all the original.

In the sixth line of the second strophe the fifth syllable is a long and the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the first antistrophe the long is replaced by two shorts, and the two shorts by a final syllable, ending in a consonant, which is really short

before a vowel at the beginning of the next line, but which is wrongly treated as if it were common in the position where it stands.

In the seventh line of the second strophe the ninth and tenth syllables are two shorts: in the seventh line of the second antistrophe for those two shorts one long is substituted.

These are the passages:

- (a) ll. 1086–8. αἴσσον πτεροῖσι πορεύσει
 ἰππόβοτον Ἄργος, ἵνα τείχεα
 λάϊνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται
- (b) ll. 1104–6. Αἰγαίου κεραυνοφαῆς πῦρ,
 Ἴλιόθεν ὅτε με πολύδακρυν
 Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα γὰρθεν ἐξορίζει

It is the strophe that is at fault. A very important indication is to be found in the fact that in l. 1068 the MSS. do not read (as I have printed) Κυκλώπι' with an elision, but vary between Κυκλώπια and Κυκλώπεια.

Now it was not the custom, except at an early date, to write elided vowels as if they were unelided. There is no question of that here.

I say that

ἵνα τείχεα
 λάϊνα Κυκλώπεια οὐράνια νέμονται

is in the main derived from [Euripides'] *Electra* 1158:

Κυκλώπεία τ' οὐράνια τείχε' (itself corrupted:
 see my treatment).

We even see the final *a* of Κυκλώπεια.

νέμονται, and perhaps λάϊνα, seem to be all that is left of the original *Troades* at this point, at least *in situ*. ἵνα and λάϊνα are suspiciously similar.

Neither do I consider ἰππόβοτον Ἄργος to be original. Seeing the obvious source of l. 1068 to be the *Electra*, I believe that ἰππόβοτον Ἄργος similarly is a mere transcript from Euripides' *Supplices* 365. If ἰππόβοτον Ἄργος were genuine, l. 1086 could not end (cf. l. 1104) with a diphthong *in hiatus*.

Under the circumstances emendation is impossible, and we must mark a lacuna. Thus perish three examples of the disputed phenomenon.

H

In the eighth line of the second strophe the second syllable is a long: in the eighth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by what are *prima facie* two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 1089. τέκνων δὲ πλήθος ἐν πύλαις
 (b) l. 1107. χρύσεα δ' ἔνοπτρα, παρθένων

In genuine Doric synizesis of *εα* is common. But it is extremely disputable whether it is permitted in this style. On the whole, I would read *χρυσᾶ*. I feel almost certain that *χρυσᾶ* could not have been understood by the copyists who are responsible for the existing text of the *Troades*.

I

This example is very similar to the last.

In the eighteenth line of the second strophe the fifth syllable is a long: in the eighteenth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines run thus:

- (α) l. 1099. Πέλοπος ἔχουσιν ἔδραι
 (b) l. 1117. μέλεα πάθεα ῥοαῖσιν

Nauck rightly emends *πάθεα* into *πάθη*. The MSS. in many plays present uncontracted neuter plurals of the third declension, so as to produce examples of the phenomenon I impugn, when there is an accompanying adjective in *-εα* of the second declension. *μέλεα πάθεα* is a good example. I take such readings to be due to a desire for uniformity which is not classical in spirit. The classical Greek liked to vary his terminations. Hence the fairly frequent use of even a somewhat rare

feminine adjective in *-os*, if the accompanying substantive ends in *-a*.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1216–1239)

In a certain sense this chorus ought to be regarded as, if not exactly beginning, at any rate giving the first sign of its presence at l. 1209. At that line Hecuba starts a speech of seven tragic trimeters. Then follow some dochmii in the mouth of the chorus. Next Hecuba delivers herself of another speech in eight tragic trimeters. After these come some more dochmii in the mouth of the chorus. So far, the first strophe and antistrophe. We then pass to the second strophe and antistrophe.

It is clear that the two trimetrical speeches of Hecuba are appurtenances of the first strophe and antistrophe, such as I have elsewhere described by the name "tragic pendants." But there is a remarkable peculiarity. Instead of the first pendant coming after a lyrical passage, in which case its nature could be recognized, it actually comes before it, so that there is nothing whatever to indicate its nature until it is past and done with, and we come to the corresponding second pendant—corresponding, that is, in some older state of the text, where the difference between them of one line in length did not present itself (several MSS. do not contain l. 1220; but that line seems necessary for the sense).

To my mind this inversion of order between the dominant and the ancillary, especially in view of the impossibility of recognizing at the time of utterance the nature of the first appurtenance, throws the utmost suspicion on the general arrangement of the whole context, as it stands in our existing texts.

Apart from the question of a distortion of main outlines, we are faced by a wealth of obvious corruption in detail. Cure is perhaps impossible. Seidler prefaces a conjectural restoration with the most justifiable remark: "In tanta autem horum versuum corruptela novare quidquam in textu nefas ego duxi."

In fact the two last choruses (this and the next) of the

Troades exhibit in a special degree that peculiar corruption of which I spoke in the prefatory remarks to my observations on this play.

Under such circumstances, I must ask the reader to remember that instances of the phenomenon I am investigating possess no evidential value in favour of the legitimacy of the phenomenon: on the contrary, they somewhat tend to discredit it, especially if they are at all numerous.

The first strophe and antistrophe run thus:

(Seven tragic trimeters in the mouth of Hecuba)

XO. ἔ ἔ, φρενῶν 1216 στρ. α'
 ἔθιγες ἔθιγες· ὦ μέγας ἐμοί ποτ' ὦν
 ἀνάκτωρ πόλεως. 1217

(Eight tragic trimeters in the mouth of Hecuba)

XO. αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ, 1226 ἀντ. α'
 πικρὸν ὄδυρμα γαῖά σ', ὦ τέκνον, δέξεται. 1227-8

It is evident that the beginning of the second dochmius of l. 1227 has disappeared; but apart from this and from the problem connected with the sets of tragic trimeters, the only metrical fact to be noted in this very short strophe and antistrophe is the occurrence of the example of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

A

The first dochmius of the second line of the first strophe is of the form ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -: the first dochmius of the second line of the first antistrophe is of the form ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 1217. ἔθιγες ἔθιγες· ὦ μέγας ἐμοί ποτ' ὦν
 ἀνάκτωρ πόλεως
 (β) ll. 1227-8. πικρὸν ὄδυρμα γαῖά σ', ὦ τέκνον, δέξεται

When a line presents in itself a lacuna even of a single syllable, that fact necessarily causes the words on either

side of the lacuna to be regarded with suspicion, because it is certain that corruption has taken place in their midst, and it is probable that they are themselves in some way concerned in that corruption. They may, indeed, only be its causes; but it is equally possible that they are its effects.

Here we have a lacuna not of one syllable only, but of several syllables. It is impossible, in view of this lacuna, to regard the word ὄδυρμα as deriving from its occurrence in the MSS. even that limited authority which would attach to it were it presented in a line of ordinary *prima facie* soundness.

It seems to me that ὄδυρμα is a most inappropriate word in the context. It means 'lamentation,' not 'cause of lamentation.' Therefore I cannot take it (at any rate from Euripides) as concrete, and as direct accusative, in apposition with σ', after the transitive verb δέξεται. It seems to be equally impossible to explain it (after the manner of the well-known λύπην πικράν) as an "accusative in apposition with the sentence." Accusatives of that kind require a context which makes them readily intelligible. Moreover I do not think that they ever precede the sentence with which they are in apposition. There are certain natural limits set to the use which may be made of grammatical possibilities.

It is true that we read in the *Christus Patiens* (l. 1518):

ὄδυρμα πικρὸν γῇ σε, Τέκνον, λαμβάνει.

Professor Tyrrell states: "*Chr. Pat.* 1518 has ὄδυρμα in the same sense as here." That statement is literally true; but it is to be observed that the *Christus Patiens*, in so using the word, gives absolutely no fresh authority to it, because the line in the *Christus Patiens* is purely a modification of this particular line in the *Troades*, and because (I suppose) no one would now dispute the fact that the *Christus Patiens* was composed at a date subsequent even to most of the latest important corruptions of the Euripidean text. I attach almost exactly the same value in this respect to the *Christus Patiens* as to Liddell and Scott or to Beatson's *Indices*.

I do not see any sufficient basis on which to build up a conjectural emendation.

The second strophe and antistrophe are in a frightful condition.

After the end of the first antistrophe, the chorus continues speaking. Hecuba answers with an interjection. The chorus resume, and Hecuba emits another ejaculation. So far the metre is indeterminate. Then the chorus utter two dochmii. Hecuba follows with three senarii, which, though they contain only one crucial form, are shown by their general run to be of a tragic nature. The chorus next deliver two lines, of which the second is an iambic dimeter catalectic, followed by an interjection, and of which the first is probably a corrupted iambic dimeter catalectic. Finally Hecuba uses one iambic dimeter catalectic, and the chorus utter what looks like the remains of two dochmii.

Here is the passage, as it stands in the MSS. :

στέναξον (*B* στέναζε) μᾶτερ, *EK.* αἰαί.

XO. (Two MSS. ascribe this to Hecuba) νεκρῶν (*B* νεκρὸν) ἱακχον. *EK.* οἶμοι μοι. 1230

XO. οἶμοι δῆτα σὼν ἀλάστων κακῶν.

EK. (Three MSS. assign to Hecuba the whole of the rest of this chorus) τελαμῶσιν ἔλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγὼ σ' ἰάσομαι (*v.l.* ἰήσομαι),
τλήμων ἱατρὸς ὄνομ' ἔχουσα, τάργα δ' οὔ·
τὰ δ' ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντίσει (*B* φροντίει: *Christus Patiens* 1383 φροντιεῖ: hence *Matthiae φροντιεῖ*)
πατὴρ σέθεν.

XO. ἄρασσ' ἄρασσε χειρὶ κῤᾶτα 1235
πιτύλους διδοῦσα χειρός, ἰὼ μοί μοι.

EK. ὦ φίλταται γυναικες.

XO. Ἐκάβη σὰς (*C* σᾶς) ἔννεπε, τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν;

We have an interesting indication of the approximate date of at any rate some of the corruption which is here exhibited. In l. 1236 Seidler very properly restores the metre to that of the iambic dimeter catalectic by omission of the word *χειρὶ*. But why was *χειρὶ* inserted? I think we can tell exactly. Seidler thought it was a gloss: I

disagree. Florentine b and Palatine B put *πιτύλους* not as the first word of l. 1236, but as the last word of 1235. Now

ἄρασ' ἄρασσε κῤατα πιτύλους

is a perfect *versus technicus* of the best type, accent in the last foot and all, but for the fact that a trochee is lacking. What our MSS. have really done is to complete the *versus technicus* by reading :

ἄρασ' ἄρασσε χειρὶ κῤατα πιτύλους.

Kirchhoff tentatively suggests the following :

στρ. EK.

.

.

XOP. *στέναζε μάτερ.* EK. *αἰαῖ.*

XOP. *νεκρῶν ἱακχον.* EK. *οἴμοι.*

ἰὼ μοί μοι.

.

XOP. *οἴμοι δῆτα σῶν ἀλάστων κακῶν.*

ἀντ. EK. νν. 1216-18

XOP. *ἄρασ' ἄρασσε* EK. *κῤατα.*

XOP. *πιτύλους διδοῦσα* EK. *χειρός.*

ἰὼ μοί μοι.

ὦ φίλταται γυναῖκες.

XOP. *σας' ἔνεπε, τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν.*

In order that the beginning of l. 1230 may correspond with that of 1236, I would in the former propose *νεκύων* instead of *νεκρῶν*.

It will be seen that Kirchhoff has a different quantity at the end of ll. 1229 and 1235.

I have quoted Kirchhoff textually. I trust that the difference between his numeration and that of Nauck will not be found too confusing.

One can see that there really is a strophe and antistrophe ; but that is about all.

As the net result we find two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. I will simply record and leave them.

B AND C

In the last line of the second strophe the first dochmius is of the false form ---υ-: in the last line of the second antistrophe the first dochmius actually appears as υυ-υ (or -) -υυ; but the end of it may readily be changed from -υυ to υυυ, which is a possible termination, but provides in the last two syllables an example of the phenomenon in question.

In the former line the second dochmius is of the type υ--υ-: in the latter line it is of the impossible type υυυ--.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 1231. οἶμοι δῆτα σῶν ἀλάστων κακῶν

(b) l. 1238. Ἑκάβη σὰς (or σᾶς) ἔννεπε (Seidler ἔνεπε)
τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν ;

It is impossible to scan Ἑκάβη at all.'

EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1287-1332)

In this chorus we find that, although the outlines of the two strophes and antistrophes of which it is composed are altogether unmistakable, nevertheless in the first strophe and antistrophe there is the wildest disagreement in detail.

By their beginnings and endings it is made quite certain that the first strophe and antistrophe are a strophe and antistrophe; but there is little relation between any parts except the beginnings and the endings. The first strophe is made up of an utterance in the mouth of Hecuba and of an utterance in the mouth of the chorus: so also is the first antistrophe. But Hecuba's strophic utterance consists of thirty-nine syllables, her antistrophic utterance of either thirty-three or thirty-four syllables, according as we take τειχέων to be a disyllable or trisyllable. The chorus' strophic utterance contains twenty-two syllables, their antistrophic utterance forty syllables. In all the strophe has sixty-one syllables, but the antistrophe has seventy-three or seventy-four syllables.

An attempt to split the first strophe and antistrophe into two strophes and antistrophes thus:

Hecuba—
Chorus—
Hecuba—
Chorus—

breaks down as soon as it is made, and it is manifestly contradicted by the fact that both of Hecuba's speeches begin with the ejaculation *ὁτοτοτοτοτοῖ* (written in various quaint ways in the MSS.).

The disparity of the number of syllables is not primarily due to the multiplication of shorts owing to the presence of examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, but rather to a profound difference in metre at various points. Kirchhoff has attempted a restoration; and in his suggested text we find only four examples of my phenomenon. The result of these four examples is to give the antistrophe two syllables more than the strophe. The other eleven or twelve syllables, in which the antistrophe redounds, certainly call for explanation.

Kirchhoff's explanation is that a long gloss has been interpolated towards the end of the antistrophe, and that there is a lacuna both in the middle of the strophe and at two places early in the antistrophe.

Seidler is much more violent in his treatment than Kirchhoff: neither can Hermann be considered moderate. But the plain truth is that no ordinary palliatives are of any avail in such a case as this. I am myself uncertain in the highest degree whether any treatment of a remedial character is possible. I am unable to detect any of the causes of corruption in this passage which I seem to have seen at work in the other choruses of the tragedians and in the text of Pindar and Bacchylides. It is to my mind clear that the unusual processes of corruption to which the *Troades* has been subjected reach their climax at this point, and that we have before us something very far removed from the words of Euripides. So much indeed does the depravation of the text of this play, especially in this chorus, differ in kind from the depravation with which a student of lyric metre becomes familiar in the course of

his investigations, that I am tempted to question whether Constantinopolitan scholarship, which was at no time quite contemptible, can with any probability be held responsible for the *Troades* as it stands, and whether we ought not rather to lay the blame provisionally upon other shoulders. The ignorance of hexametrical metre displayed in this play is a very remarkable feature. Was there ever a century when Homer was not studied by the banks of the Bosphorus?

I cannot help suspecting that the prototype of our MSS. of the *Troades* must have been produced in an environment far removed from Hellenic literary culture. It must be remembered that, under the Abasside Caliphs, Bagdad (built by Almansor, A.D. 762) was the centre of great literary activity, which continued throughout the ninth century. Now it is to the eighth or ninth century that I see some reason for assigning at any rate part of the corruption in the *Troades*. I believe that it was from some such source that the *Troades* was recovered. Recovered it was; for it had once been lost. The play was probably unknown even to Stobaeus (see Appendix D), and is omitted by *C*. Indeed I am not aware that it can be shown to have made its reappearance in the Greek world at any date earlier than its use in the compilation of the *Christus Patiens*, a work which, whoever its author, can at most be only a little older than the twelfth century. John Tzetzes, who lived in that century, was acquainted with the play. Codex Vaticanus, of the same century, is the earliest MS. authority.

In case it is a fact that the *Troades* was brought back to Constantinople no earlier than the eleventh century (though the ninth century seems more probable), Cordova becomes a possible rival to Bagdad as the place of provenance. It might shed light on various questions of textual criticism, if Arabic scholars, from the records which perhaps exist in that language, could inform us what Greek books were read in the Greek language at the Mahometan seats of learning. It is absolutely certain that some amount of Greek scholarship must have existed among the Arabs, as otherwise the translators who turned

Aristotle into Arabic could never have accomplished their task. Professor Margoliouth informs me that a whole library of Greek literature is said to have been taken from Cyprus to Bagdad in the reign of the Caliph Mamun (813–833 A.D.). About the middle of the ninth century the great scholar Photius was ambassador for a while at Bagdad: he may have brought manuscripts back with him. Costa ben Luca (A.D. 864–923) lived for a time at Bagdad, translating Greek books into Arabic.

The extreme corruption of this last chorus would be satisfactorily accounted for, if we were to make the bold assumption that the Greek MSS. of the *Troades* had in foreign hands undergone such far-reaching depravation that they had in places to be patched up by means of retranslation from an Arabic version.

This is of course a mere guess; but the literary historian is bound to admit that, on the known facts, it is a guess well within the limits of possibility.

The first strophe and antistrophe (if they may be so described) run thus in the MSS.:

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ὅττο τοτοτο τοῖ (so B: B ὅττο τοτοτοτοῖ: Florentine b ὀτοτοτοτοῖ).

στρ. α'

Κρόνιε, πρύτανι Φρύγιε, γενέτα

πάτερ, ἀνάξια (so B: B and C ἄξια: Florentine b ἄξιε) τᾶς (C and Florentine b τᾶσδε: B τῆς)

Δαρδάνου (B Δαρδανίου)

γονᾶς τὰδ' οἷα πάσχομεν δέδορκας;

1290

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δέδορκεν, ἃ δὲ μεγαλόπολις

ἄπολις ὄλωλεν οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔστι Τροία.

ΕΚΑΒΗ

ὅττο τοτοτο τοῖ (apparently all the MSS. repeat their version of l. 1287).

ἀντ. α'

λέλαμπεν Ἴλιος περ-

1295

-γάμων τε (*B* omits τε) πυρὶ καταίθεται τέραμνα
(Florentine *b* and *B* apparently read *τέρεμνα*,
which they place at the beginning of the
next line)

καὶ πόλις ἄκρα τε τειχέων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ-
-ρανίᾳ πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γὰ.
μαλερὰ μέλαθρα πυρὶ κατάδρομα
δαῖψ (Florentine *b* δαῖα) τε λόγχα.

1300

Similar corruption may be latent elsewhere in Euripides; but nothing like it is patent in any other place.

And yet, strong though the corruption is, out of the strong comes forth sweetness. Was it not Dekker who, speaking of London, dressed for a holiday in flowers and foliage, paraphrased

ἄπολις ὄλωλεν οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔστι Τροία

in the words:

‘Troynovant is no more a city’?

Kirchhoff's suggested restoration runs:

στρ. ΕΚ. Ὅτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ.

Κρόνιε, πρύτανι Φρύγιε, γενέτα
πάτερ, ἀνάξια τὰς Δαρδάνου
γονᾶς τάδ' οἶα πᾶσχομεν δέδορκας;

ΧΟΡ. δέδορκεν· ἅ δὲ
μεγαλόπολις ἄπολις ὄλωλεν
οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔστι Τροία.

ἀντ. ΕΚ. Ὅτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ.

.
λέλαμπ' Ἴλιος Περ-
γάμων τε πυρὶ καταίθεται τέραμνα.

ΧΟΡ. πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γὰ.
μαλερὰ μέλαθρα πυρὶ κατάδρομα
δαίψ τε λόγχα.

For the sake of completeness, it may be well to set down in detail the four examples of the disputed phenomenon, which this arrangement presents.

A

In the third line of the suggested strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the suggested antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are:

- (α) πάτερ, ἀνάξια τᾶς Δαρδάνου
 (β) λέλαμπ' Ἴλιος Περ-
 -γαμων

B

In the fourth line of the suggested strophe the fourth syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the suggested antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are:

- (α) γονᾶς τὰδ' οἶα πᾶσχομεν δέδορκας;
 (β) -γαμων τε πυρὶ καταίθεται τέραμνα

C

In the fifth line of the suggested strophe the fourth syllable is a long: in the fifth line of the suggested antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are:

- (α) δέδορκεν· ᾶ δὲ
 (β) πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γᾶ

D

In the sixth line of the suggested strophe the tenth syllable is a long: in the sixth line of the suggested antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are :

- (α) *μεγαλόπολις ἄπολις ὄλωλεν*
 (β) *μαλερὰ μέλαθρα πυρὶ κατάδρομα*

The second strophe and antistrophe is much less obviously corrupt; but nevertheless several considerations show that at any rate much of it is far removed from what Euripides would have permitted himself to write.

In the first place, l. 1302 as compared with l. 1317, l. 1306 as compared with l. 1321, l. 1309 as compared with l. 1324, l. 1310 as compared with l. 1325, l. 1311 as compared with l. 1326, and l. 1314 as compared with l. 1330, all exhibit final syllables of contradictory quantities, owing to neglect of the principle of *synapheia*.

Secondly, owing to the same neglect, a short syllable stands *in hiatus* at the end of l. 1320.

Thirdly, although l. 1326 has been slightly miswritten, it is obvious that that line is intended to correspond to l. 1311 in such a way as to present the monstrous number of four examples of my phenomenon within the compass of a single lyrical trimeter. It may be remarked at this point that the strophe and antistrophe present two or possibly three other instances of the phenomenon.

Fourthly, l. 1320 not only, as stated above, ends with a short syllable *in hiatus*, but also (a small point) presents one of the instances of my phenomenon, and (not a small point) cannot fairly be said to be translatable.

I lay chief emphasis on the widespread neglect of *synapheia*. Up and down classical choruses this neglect, due undoubtedly to corruption, is to be observed; but it seldom attains such dimensions as in this place.

All this amounts, I think, to a demonstration that a late composer has been at work. But the peculiar feature is that the result is, for the most part, distinctly Euripidean, points of technique alone excepted throughout.

There is not, so far as I can see, any trace here either of Technical or of Political verses, while the minor and more ordinary causes of corruption seem to be quite insufficient to account for what has occurred, and while at the same time such a standard (rules of minute technique

excepted) is fairly consistently maintained as to make it almost impossible to suppose that we have before us the mere work of a medieval forger.

I am inclined to suggest that we should do well to bear in mind the possibility of the same explanation as that which I have tentatively put forward with regard to the first strophe and antistrophe. Only it is plain that in the second strophe and antistrophe corruption at no point went so far as to obliterate the main features of correspondence.

E

In the second line of the second strophe the first foot is a spondee: in the second line of the second antistrophe the first foot is a dactyl.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1303. ὦ τέκνα, κλύετε, μάθετε μητρὸς (B ματρὸς :
C μῆρς) αὐδάν

(b) l. 1318. τὰν φόνιον ἔχετε φλόγα δορός τε λόγχαν

For ὦ τέκνα it is easy to read ὦ τέκεα.

F AND G

In the fourth line of the second strophe the eighth syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts. It is also to be observed that the strophic line ends in a tribrach, but that the antistrophic line substitutes for that tribrach a dactyl, of which the final syllable is short by nature and stands *in hiatus*. By elision of that short syllable, a further example of my phenomenon is obtained, as, in the event of elision, a tribrach is answered by a trochee.

These are the passages:

(α) ll. 1305-6. γεραιά τ' εἰς πέδον τιθεῖσα μέλεα
καὶ (Florentine b puts καὶ at the end
of the previous line) χερσὶ γαῖαν
κτυπούσα δισσαῖς

(b) ll. 1320-1. *κόνις δ' ἴσα καπνῷ πτέρυγι πρὸς αἰθέρα*
(B αἰθέρ^α: Nauck αἰθέρ')
ἄιστον οἴκων ἐμῶν με θήσει

It might be possible to put matters apparently to rights without much difficulty, leaving *πτέρυγι* in the form *πετρῶ*. But *πτέρυγι* is the chief thing wrong, and *πετρῶ* would be worse in sound (because of *καπνῷ*) and as bad in sense. Professor Tyrrell says: "Some word like *πετασθείσα* must be supplied with *πτέρυγι*." But no such word is supplied. The *πτέρυγι* seems to be a mere repetition of the *πτέρυγι* in l. 1298, where it is equally meaningless. Is *πτέρυγι* in each case a bad retranslation of some word in a foreign version? We are familiar in the Bible with the "wings of the wind" and "the sun of righteousness . . . with healing in his wings." To attribute a wing to dust is not Greek: I think that it is Arabic.

H, I, K AND L

In the tenth line of the second strophe (a lyrical trimeter) the first foot is a spondee, the second a tribrach, the third an iamb, and the fourth an iamb: the tenth line of the second antistrophe, as it stands in the text, an Aristophanic trimeter: its first foot is an iamb, its second an anapaest, its third an anapaest, and its fourth a tribrach. But, as it stands, the antistrophic line either makes pure nonsense, or, if it is possible to import sense into it, is possessed of a meaning fantastic in the context. A modification of writing, which in mediaeval times involved absolutely no modification of pronunciation, will make the following account of it true. The first foot is a tribrach, the second an iamb, the third a tribrach, and the fourth a tribrach. When we have effected this modification of writing, we have, quite apart from my phenomenon, not arrived at a strophic and antistrophic line that really correspond. The final syllables still differ in quantity; and this is proof positive of corruption.

The lines are these (I do not enter into the perplexing

question of the persons to whom their various parts should be assigned):

(a) l. 1311. δούλειον ὑπὸ μέλαθρον ἐκ πάτρας γ' ἐμᾶς

(b) l. 1326. ἔνωσις ἄπασαν ἔνωσις ἐπικλύσει πόλιν (but *B* reads, probably *ex coniectura*, and we certainly must read, though not finally) ἔνοσις ἄπασαν ἔνοσις ἐπικλύσει πόλιν

Now, I do not think it can be doubted but that in the twelfth century, as to-day, *ἔνωσις* and *ἔνοσις* had at least almost exactly the same pronunciation. They both were pronounced *énosis*. But at the same time the writing of a rough instead of a smooth breathing, and of *ω* instead of *ο*, shows conclusively that the copyists understood the antistrophic line to mean: 'Unification, unification will overwhelm the whole city.'

As a Londoner, I can quite understand their objection to unification; but the maxim of civic wisdom is entirely out of keeping with the context. I do, however, seriously wonder whether there were ever any municipal movements in any great city in the Middle Ages which led copyists, Arabic or Greek, to put the line into the form in which in all MSS., except *B*, it presents itself. I suppose that all copyists, even the worst, possessed some modicum of sense; and, unless there was some topical appropriateness in *ἔνωσις*, I cannot understand how any human being can have been foolish enough to present the line in the vulgate form.

Emendation, further than that of *B*, is quite impossible. The chorus has certainly been corrupted on unusual lines, and restoration opens out an *infinita quaestio*.

SUMMARY

The *Troades* presents the extraordinary total of 104 examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, if, that is to say, we adopt currently received divisions into strophe and antistrophe. But, of the 104 instances, 64

occur in what is almost certainly a semi-lyrical adaptation of a passage originally written in regular anapaests. Of these 64, we find that within the limits of single lines there are two sets of five each, three sets of four each, nine sets of three each, and six sets of two each: which circumstance is demonstrative. Of the remaining 40 examples, one set of four presents itself within the compass of a single line, and so do six sets of two apiece: four other instances are more or less seriously opposed by some MS. authority, and yet three others are merely, or almost merely, graphic. The result is that there are only 17 examples, out of the *prima facie* 104, on which a defender of the phenomenon could reasonably attempt to rely; and most of the 17 are for various reasons open to easy attack. The *Troades* is, as regards its textual features, most singularly unlike all the other plays of Euripides.

RHESUS

The *Rhesus* is one of the nine plays which repose on the amplest MS. authority. It is contained in Codex Havniensis (known as C), Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's C), Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's B), and Codex Harleianus 5743 (Nauck's A). ll. 1-899 are contained in Codex Vaticanus 909 (known as B): the whole play is contained in Codex Palatinus 98 (known as B²), which is an apograph of B. ll. 856-84 are contained in Codex Ambrosianus (known as D). The play is also found in MSS. of inferior importance.

Moreover, very free use of the *Rhesus* is made by the compiler of the *Christus Patiens*.

The examination of the evidence afforded by the text of the *Rhesus* is peculiarly interesting because of the doubt as to the strictly classical provenance of the play, and the consequent *prima facie* uncertainty whether the author followed strictly classical rules of metre. For my own part, the *Rhesus*, as we have it, strikes me as being in the main an Alexandrian (or even Roman) reconstruction

of an exceedingly corrupt text of a really classical work, a text perhaps as corrupt as the existing vulgate of the *Supplices* of Aeschylus. Consequently I am able to accept the evidence of the *Didascaliae* as to the Euripidean authorship of the play.

I regard numerous other plays of Euripides as reconstructions equally with the *Rhesus*. But the other plays were reconstructed in great measure on genuinely Euripidean lines, and therefore were to a great extent rightly reconstructed. Probably because the *Rhesus* deals with Homeric subject matter, which fact may have caused Euripides himself to be slightly more Homeric than usual in his diction, the reconstructors set to work very much as if they were writing a late epic.

But they did not go so far as to make a practice of alternating a long with two shorts in passages possessing lyrical correspondence. There are only twelve instances of this phenomenon in the whole play. Two of them are due to a modern emendation, and all the remaining ten either can be banished with the slightest stroke of the pen, or else occur in passages so clearly corrupt that they can only be regarded as having suffered depravation subsequently to the reconstitution of the text, or, alternatively, as having baffled the ingenuity of the correctors.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 23–51)

A AND B

The last line of the strophe has for its sixth and seventh syllables two shorts: the corresponding antistrophic line substitutes one long. The same strophic line has for its eighth syllable a long: this long the antistrophic line replaces (in different MSS.) with two shorts, or else a short and a long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 33. ζεύγνυτε κερόδετα τόξα νευραῖς

(b) l. 51. μήποτε τινα μέμψιν ἐς ἐμ' εὔπης

(MSS. μήποτε τινα μέμψιν εἰς ἐμ', or εἰς ἡμᾶς, or ἐς ἡμᾶς, εἵπης)

Bothe is manifestly right in reading :

μήποτ' ἐς ἐμέ τινα μέμψιν εἶπης.

But transpositions do not occur so often as to be assumed without special reason. Here there is special reason. The existence of the reading εἰς ἡμᾶς is an indication that we are dealing with a piece of prose paraphrase, such as we see at length in Dion's adaptation of the *Philoctetes* of Euripides. For example, Dion's

οὐ δυνατόν εἶπερ Ἕλλην ὦν τυγχάνεις

must stand for a line possessing at least the main outlines of

οὐ δυνατόν εἶπερ τυγχάνεις Ἕλλην γεγώς,

or ἄλλ' οὐχ οἶόν τ' Ἀργεῖος εἰ κυρεῖς γεγώς.

In any case there is transposition.

Or transposition may be due to the taking of a vocative out of its place in the middle of a sentence, and putting it at one end or the other, in order to exhibit the uninterrupted grammatical construction of the sentence, as in *Hippolytus* 1269. This also is a kind of paraphrase.

Or, again, a writer may for purposes of style or metre put particles and other words in positions which, apart from considerations of the particular style or metre, are not the most natural. A copyist who does not understand the style or the metre is likely to effect transpositions. Witness the cases of violation of the two rhetorical laws relating to hiatus and to the succession of three short syllables. Almost any page of Demosthenes shows instances of corruption due to transposition of this sort.

But transposition is not common in tragedy.

• SECOND CHORUS (ll. 131-136 and 195-200)

The third line of the strophe is a dochmius beginning with a tribrach: the third line of the antistrophe is a dochmius beginning with an iamb.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 133. τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ

(b) l. 197. πόνος δ' εὐκλεής

A glance at the context shows that the antistrophic passage is much improved by reading with Nauck :

πόνος ὅδ' εὐκλεής.

The context is :

μέγας ἀγών· μεγάλα δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν.
μακάριός γε μὴν κυρήσας ἔσει·
πόνος ὅδ' εὐκλεής.

This chorus presents in brief compass a good specimen of the way in which dochmiacs were corrupted. The MSS. read :

τάδε δοκεῖ, τάδε μεταθέμενος νόει. στρ.
σφαλερὰ δ' οὐ φιλῶ στρατηγῶν κράτη.
τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ
ταχυβάταν νεῶν κατόπταν μολεῖν
πέλας, ὃ τι ποτ' ἄρα δαίτοις 135
πυρὰ κατ' ἀντίπρῳρα ναυστάθμων δαίεται ;

μέγας ἀγών· μεγάλα δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν. 195 ἀντ.
μακάριός γε μὴν κυρήσας ἔσει·
πόνος δ' εὐκλεής.
μέγα δὲ κοιράνοισι γαμβρὸν πέλειν.
τὰ δὲ θεόθεν ἐπιδέτω Δίκα,
τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀνδράσιν τέλειά (τέλεά BCbc)
σοι φαίνεται. 200

Corruption has unfortunately reached such a point at the end both of the strophe and of the antistrophe, that only the main lines of emendation can be considered reasonably certain. Details must necessarily remain permanently in doubt. But if any scholar will give five or six hours up to the careful consideration of the chorus, bearing in mind three things especially, the meaning, the metre, and the *ductus literarum*, he will, I think, admit that the following reconstruction is sufficiently correct to

show that first the strophe was corrupted, that secondly the strophe was restored on a wrong theory both of metre and of diction, and that thirdly the antistrophe was arbitrarily altered in order to suit the metre of the wrongly restored strophe.

τάδε δοκεῖ, τάδε μεταθέμενος νόει.	στρ.
σφαλερὰ δ' οὐ φιλῶ στραταγῶν κράτη.	
τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἦ	
ταχυβάταν νεῶν κατόπταν μολεῖν;	
πελάγι' οὐ ποτ', οὐκ ἄρα τὰδ' αἰτίας	135
πυρκαε' ἀντίπρῳρ' ἄνευ δαίεται.	
.	
μέγας ἀγών· μεγάλα δ' ἐπινοεῖς ἐλεῖν.	195 ἀντ.
μακάριός γε μὰν κυρήσας ἔσση.	
πόνος ὅδ' εὐκλεῖς.	
μέγα δὲ κοιράνοισι γαμβρὸν πέλειν.	
τὰ θεόθεν θεῶν ἐπιδέτω δίκα·	
τὰν δὲ παρ' ἀνδράσιν τελείαν ἔχεις.	200

I only wish to observe that the adjective *πυρκαῆς* seems to be as legitimate a formation as the familiar *πυριφλεγής*, and that I regard *ἀντίπρῳρ' ἄνευ* as having passed into *ἀντίπρῳρα ναυστάθμων* under the influence of the frequent occurrence in the *Rhesus* of the word *ναύσταθμον*. *κατ' ἀντίπρῳρα ναυστάθμων* is a singularly infelicitous expression. *ἀντίπρῳρος* is indeed used metaphorically elsewhere. But to use it in connexion with the word *ναύσταθμον* is to confuse the literal and the metaphorical. *ναύσταθμον* is sufficiently near *ναῦς* to make a metaphor from the one to the other intolerable.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 224-263)

The eleventh line of the second strophe has for its second syllable a long: the corresponding line of the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 251. ἐν αἰχμᾶ· ποτὶ Μουσῶν δς ἐμάν
 (b) l. 262. δς ἐπί γὰν Τροίαν χιλίοναν

On ἐπὶ γὰν Paley writes: "The metre suggests ἐς γὰν." But a glance at the context shows that this solution is scarcely probable. The passage runs:

ἔλοι Μενέλαν,
κτανὼν δ' Ἀγαμεμνόνιον
κρᾶτ' ἐνέγκοιθ' (so Musgrave for ἐνέγκοι)
Ἐλένα κακὸγάμβρον 260
ἐς χέρας γόον, ὃς ἐπὶ πτόλιν
ὃς ἐπὶ γὰν Τροίαν χιλιόναυν
ἦλυθ' ἔχων στρατείαν.

The repetition in ὃς ἐπὶ πτόλιν ὃς ἐπὶ γὰν is sufficiently remarkable. Such rhetorical devices are, I suppose, possible in all languages; but classical Greek makes a very sparing use of them. On the other hand, late Greek, especially when under Roman influence, is much less dainty in the matter.

I am inclined to think that Euripides was really comparing, with an eye to the gallery, the relative position of Greece and Troy at the time of the Trojan war to the relative position of Athens and Sparta in his own day. Of each pair one was a sea-power, the other a land-power. Therefore I suggest:

ὃς ἐπὶ πτόλιν
ὀπλιτᾶν Τροίαν χιλιόναυν
ἦλυθ' ἔχων στρατείαν.

I translate: 'Who led against the Trojan city of hoplites a force of a thousand ships.'

If I am correct, it follows from the gamma of γὰν that the corruption is uncial. Therefore the existing text is probably that of the restorers.

Grammatically speaking, I take ὀπλιτᾶν as in apposition with Τρώων understood in Τροίαν.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 342-379)

No instances.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 454-466 and ll. 820-832)

Paley, on l. 131 of this play, points out that the strophe beginning at that line is not answered by an antistrophe until l. 195; that in this chorus we have a similar interruption (on a scale, I may say, very much greater); that the strophe beginning at l. 362 of the *Hippolytus* begins to be answered at l. 672 of that play; and that there are several like interruptions in Aeschylus' *Septem*. All of which goes strongly, I think, to prove that the *Septem*, the *Hippolytus*, and the *Rhesus* have alike been considerably distorted from their original forms.

A

The sixth line of the strophe runs thus :

(a) l. 459. οὔτε πρίν τιν' οὔτε νῦν ἀνδρῶν

The sixth line of the antistrophe is :

(b) l. 825. οὔτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὔτ' ἔβριξ' οὐ μὰ τὰς

The whole antistrophic passage runs as follows :

ἐπεὶ ἄγρυπνον ὄμμ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ
οὔτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὔτ' ἔβριξ' οὐ μὰ τὰς
Σιμοεντιάδας πηγὰς.

It is therefore obvious that nothing is required to bring ll. 459 and 825 into complete conformity beyond the omission, proposed by Hermann, of the word μὰ in the latter.

But there is a curious and very important complication.

Vater was apparently the first to perceive the bearing of ll. 2331-2 of the *Christus Patiens* on this passage. Those lines run :

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄμμ' ἄγρυπνον εἶχον εὐφρόνῃ
κοῦτ' ἔβρισ' οὔτ' ἐκοίμισ', οὐ νῆ σὴν κάραν.

Consequently he read at the beginning of l. 825 of the *Rhesus* :

οὔτ' ἔβρισ' οὔτ' ἐκοίμισ'.

Hence we obtain an instance of my phenomenon, viz. :

(α) l. 459. οὐτὲ πρίν τιν' οὐτε νῦν ἀνδρῶν

(b) l. 825. οὐτ' ἔβρισ' οὐτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὐ μὰ τὰς

In that case the long first syllable of ἀνδρῶν is answered by the short μὰ. If for μὰ we were to read the νῆ of the *Christus Patiens*, we should very likely, at the expense of classical Greek, be restoring a stage of the text in some intermediate period of corruption.

But the strophic line hardly makes sense. Surely we must adopt Dindorf's reading :

οὐτὲ πρὶν οὐτε νῦν τιν' ἀνδρῶν.

This corresponds with the antistrophic reading based on the *Christus Patiens*, if only with Hermann we omit μὰ. The two lines then should stand thus :

(α) l. 459. οὐτε πρὶν οὐτε νῦν τιν' ἀνδρῶν

(b) l. 825. οὐτ' ἔβρισ' οὐτ' ἐκοίμισ' οὐ τὰς

It is curious that Dindorf does not read this in the antistrophe.

It is necessary to say a little more about the *Christus Patiens*, because it may be urged that l. 2332,

κοῦτ' ἔβρισ' οὐτ' ἐκοίμισ', οὐ νῆ σὴν κάραν,

really has a spondee in the second foot (either ἔ|βρις' οὐτ' | or ἔ|βριξ' οὐτ'|).

The *Christus Patiens* is composed in that kind of quantitative, or quasi-quantitative, iambics that is called the "Technical Metre." In the technical metre a licence is given (without any reference to accent) of scanning long syllables as short and short syllables as long; but the metre has two main forms, a stricter and a laxer. The *Christus Patiens*, which is either by, or else is indistinguishable from the work of, Theodore Ptochoprodromus (who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century), is written in the stricter form. This form admits the almost indiscriminate lengthening of short syllables, but is extremely chary of the licence to shorten long

syllables (forbidding altogether the correption of η and ω , and seldom permitting that of \tilde{a} , \tilde{i} , or \tilde{u}), and totally prohibiting the shortening of syllables long by position, though the position laws are not quite the same as in Attic. (The lines of the *Christus Patiens* end with what is accentually a trochee, e.g. *κάραν*, except where the writer is quoting.)

Consequently $\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\sigma'$ is unlikely, and $\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\xi'$ impossible.

One feature of the metre of the *Christus Patiens* is of first-rate importance to emenders of Euripides. In consequence of the licence to lengthen short syllables two dochmii of the familiar scansion $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-|\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ make a perfectly good technical trimeter. Hence in ll. 902–3 we read these technical trimeters :

$\tau\acute{o}$ κατὰ γὰς θέλω, τὸ κατὰ γὰς κνέφας
τανῦν μετοικεῖν, σῆς θέας στερουμένη,

based on *Hippolytus* 836 (see my discussion of that passage).

It is equally clear that pseudo-dochmii, of such scansion as $-\cup-\cup-\cup-$ or $-\cup-\cup\cup-$, will scan as halves of technical trimeters.

This is why Euripidean dochmiacs are generally so corrupt. Mediaeval copyists thought they were dealing with *versus technici*, and later mediaeval copyists had to restore something like classical metre.

It seems clear that the reading $\omicron\upsilon\tau'$ $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\iota\sigma'$ $\omicron\upsilon\tau'$ $\epsilon\beta\rho\iota\xi'$ arose after the beginning and before the end of the twelfth century (our earliest MSS. are twelfth-century). Was its author John Tzetzes?

B

In the tenth line of the strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts : in the corresponding line of the antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long, and the rest of the antistrophic line is missing.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 463. πῶς δ' Αἴας ὑπομείναι ;

(b) l. 829. ἐγὼ πάντων * *

An instance occurring in a mutilated line is not of much evidential value. The next line in each case begins with a vowel. The last word in the previous line of the strophe is *δύναιτο*, in that of the antistrophe *γάρ*. Consequently the antistrophic line with which we are dealing must begin with a vowel, and end with a consonant or an elision, or else with a *hiatus licitus*. The last syllable must be short, or shortened *in hiatus*. In view of the probability of the missing word or words having dropped out through resemblance to what precedes, I am somewhat inclined to read

*ἀναίτιος γὰρ
ὦν πάντων τόδ' ἀπαντῶ.*

‘In me you have a completely innocent man meeting the charge against him here and now.’ The antistrophe continues :

*ἦν δὲ χρόνῳ παρὰ καιρὸν ἔργον ἢ λόγον
πύθῃ, κατὰ με γὰρ
ζῶντα πόρευσον· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.*

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 527–556)

The first line of the strophe begins with two short syllables : the first line of the antistrophe substitutes one long syllable.

The passages are these :

- (α) ll. 527–30. *τίνος ἂ φυλακά ; τίς ἀμείβει
τὰν ἐμάν ; πρῶτα
δύεται σημεία καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ' αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ
ποτᾶται.*
- (β) ll. 546–50. *καὶ μὴν ἄτω, Σιμόεντος
ἡμένα κοίτας
φοινίας ὕμνῃ πολυχорδοτάτα
γῆρυι παιδολέτωρ μελοποιὸς ἀηδονὶς μερί-
μναν.*

Σιμόεντος is utterly meaningless after the comma. Editors have tried to construe it as a locative, failing to

see that *αἰω* is not a verb, but should be written *αἰῶ*, the Doric accusative singular of *ῥών*. The remarkable point about it is that the *a* is shortened; but it must be remembered that in exactly similar manner Euripides shortens the *a* of *ἀέλιος*, as also does Sophocles. Compare my emendations of the *Helen*, ll. 168, 171.

I unhesitatingly read :

- (α) *τίνος ἄ φυλακά ; τίς ἀμείβει*
τὰν ἐμάν ; πρῶτ' αὖ
δύεται σημεία καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι . μέσα δ' αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται .
- (β) *κατὰ μὰν αἰῶ Σιμόεντος*
ἡμένα κοίτας
φοινίας ὑμνεί πολυχорδοτάτα
γῆρυι παιδολέτωρ μέλοποιὸς ἀηδονὶς μερίμναν .

κοίτας φοινίας is genitive, depending on *μερίμναν*.

It is fortunate that even the copyists failed to recognize *αἰῶ*. Otherwise we should have had *αἰόνα* or *αόνα*, and either one or two extra examples of my phenomenon.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 675–680)

This chorus presents no instances. The strophe ends at l. 676, and the antistrophe at l. 680. These lines correspond accurately. Also l. 675 corresponds, except as regards its last syllable, with l. 678. I imagine that two lines of the strophe have perished.

EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 692–748)

The second dochmius of the ninth line of the first strophe begins with a tribrach : the second dochmius of the ninth line of the first antistrophe begins with an iamb ; but the fault is purely graphic.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 700. *παρὰλίαν Λοκρῶν νεμόμενος πόλιν ;*
 (β) l. 718. *βασιλίδ' ἐστὶαν Ἀτρεΐδαν κακῶς*

Read Ἀτρεΐδαν.

The interspersed trimeters are plainly not lyrical.

NINTH CHORUS (ll. 895–914)

A

In the fifth line of the strophe the first foot is a spondee: in the fifth line of the antistrophe the first foot is a dactyl. It is also to be observed that the strophic second foot is a dactyl, the antistrophic second foot a trochee.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 899. ἡ δυσδαίμονα καὶ μελέαν

(β) l. 910. ἄ θ' Ἐλένα λιπούσα δόμον

I agree thoroughly, especially in view of the context, with Badham's striking emendation :

ἄ θ' Ἑλλανα λιπούσα δόμον.

B AND C

The beginning of the seventh line of the strophe is out of correspondence with the beginning of the seventh line of the antistrophe: as for the latter portions of the lines, they agree roughly, as they stand, but a greater space can be covered by the agreeing parts if μὲν (which has no δέ to balance it) be omitted from the antistrophic line, but only at the cost of creating two examples of my phenomenon.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 901. ἀπὸ δ' ἀντομένου πατρός, βιαίως

(β) l. 912. ὑπ' Ἰλίου ὤλεσε μὲν σὲ κατὰ Τροίας

As the lines stand

ἀντομένου πατρός βιαίως

is answered by

ὤλεσε μὲν σὲ κατὰ Τροίας,

except that the first syllable of *κατὰ* clearly ought to be long.

If *μὲν* be omitted, then we obtain two examples of our disputed phenomenon, thus :

(α) *ἀντομένου πατρὸς βιαίως*

(β) *Ἰλῖϝ ὤλεσε σὲ κατὰ Τροίας*

I can hardly better Paley's

ὑπὸ δ' Ἰλίου ὤλεσέν σε πύργοις.

As he says, this conjecture "would satisfy sense and metre"; but I cannot see that any sufficient material exists out of which to build up an approximately certain reconstruction of the original fabric. I like *ὤλεσεν*, because it follows the *ductus literarum* of *ὤλεσε μὲν* : I do not like *πύργοις* so well, because it is only very partially similar to the letters of *κατὰ Τροίας*.

On the whole, I suggest as a little more probable :

ὑπὸ δ' Ἰλίου ὤλεσέν σε κρόσσαις.

κρόσσαι has an epic flavour, appropriate to the *Rhesus* ; and we must remember that *κρόσσαις* is very like *κτ' τροίας*.

D

The ninth and last line of the strophe is a paroemiac : the ninth and last line of the antistrophe is also a paroemiac. The first foot of the strophic paroemiac is an anapaest : the first foot of the antistrophic paroemiac is a spondee.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 903. *φιλία κεφαλὰ, τέκνον, ὅμοι*

(β) l. 914. *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκένωσεν*

Whatever reviser of the text of the *Rhesus* had the audacity to employ paroemiacs as clausulae, not of anapaestic systems, but of a strophe and an antistrophe, is no doubt responsible for the want of lyrical correspondence. It is manifest that the original text has disappeared.

SUMMARY

The *Rhesus* presents nine examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, and emendation adds three others. Of the nine, three occur in obviously mutilated, corrupted, or interpolated passages: one other example is merely graphic: another instance is contradicted by some MS. authority, and moreover does not stand alone in the line where it occurs. The four remaining instances are not weighty.

SUPPLICES

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 42-86)

No instances.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 261-285)

A, B, C, AND D

This chorus, as it stands, begins and ends with four hexameter lines, the first four being usually regarded as a strophe, and the last four as its antistrophe. But the first line of the alleged strophe has its fourth foot a dactyl, whereas the first line of the alleged antistrophe has its fourth foot a spondee. The second line of the so-called strophe has its third foot a dactyl, that of the so-called antistrophe a spondee. The third line of the assumed strophe has its first foot and its second foot both spondees: the third line of the assumed antistrophe has its first foot and its second foot both dactyls. The fourth lines alone of the supposed strophe and antistrophe exactly correspond.

Hence there are altogether four more or less *prima facie* examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

Between the alleged strophe and antistrophe come six lines, which are usually treated as mesodic. The first two are of a distinctly lyric type, the third and fourth are absolutely dactylic hexameters, even the sixth feet being dactyls. The fifth intervening line stands in the text in the form of a dactylic tetrameter catalectic; and the sixth intervening line is a dactylic hexameter with a spondaic sixth foot, but its first foot is obviously corrupt.

I think I can show almost to demonstration that the whole strophic and antistrophic structure of the chorus has been misconceived.

I will set out the MS. text, noting a few widely received emendations:

- 271 βᾶθι, τάλαιν', ἱερῶν δαπέδων ἀπο Περσεφονείας, στρ.
 272 βᾶθι καὶ ἀντίασον γονάτων, ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα,
 273 τέκνων τεθνεώτων κόμισαι (Markland κομίσαι) δέμας, ὦ μελέα 'γώ,
 274 οὗς ὑπὸ τείχεσι Καδμείοισιν ἀπώλεσα κόρους.
 275 ἰὼ μοι· λάβετε, φέρετε, πέμπετε (Hermann πέμπετ', αἰρέτε) μεσφδ.
 276 τάλαινας χέρας (Hermann τάλαιναν χερὸς) γεραιάς (Hermann γεραιάς).
 [Dindorf points out that ll. 275-6 are an inappropriate interpolated adaptation of the beginning of the first chorus of the *Hecuba*.]
 277 πρὸς σε γενειάδος ὦ φίλος, ὦ δοκιμώτατος Ἑλλάδι
 278-9 ἄντομαι, ἀμφιπίνουσα τὸ σὸν γόνυ καὶ χέρα δειλαῖαν (Hermann δειλαῖα),
 280 οἰκτίσαι ἀμφὶ τέκνων μ' ἱκέταν
 281 ἥ (Musgrave ἦ, which is not Doric) τιν' ἀλάταν, οἰκτρὸν ἰήλεμον οἰκτρὸν εἶσαν,
 282 μῆδ' ἀτάφους, τέκνον, ἐν χθονὶ Κάδμου χάρματα θηρῶν ἀντ.
 283 παῖδας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τῇ σῇ κατὶδῆς, ἱκετεύω.
 284 βλέπον ἐμῶν βλεφάρων ἔπι δάκρυον, ἃ περὶ σοῖσι
 285 γούνασιν ὧδε πίτνω, τέκνοις τάφον ἐξανύσασθαι.

The real clue to the structure of this chorus is to be found in the couplet in the mesode (I adopt Hermann's *δειλαῖα*):

277. πρὸς σε γενειάδος ὦ φίλος, ὦ δοκιμώτατος Ἑλλάδι
 ἄντομαι, ἀμφιπίνουσα τὸ σὸν γόνυ καὶ χέρα δειλαῖα.

It is obvious that these two lines are not balanced by anything else in the chorus. Consequently they must either stand outside all systems of strophe and antistrophe, or else be themselves a complete strophe and antistrophe. The latter is surely the case. Not only does the second line answer syllable for syllable to the first, but there is

a hiatus after 'Ελλάδι such as is only justifiable at the end of a strophe.

Turn now to the first two lines of the chorus :

271. βᾶθι, τάλαιν', ἱερῶν δαπέδων ἄπο Περσεφονείας,
βᾶθι καὶ ἀντίασον γονάτων, ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα.

Here again we have a couplet to which nothing else in the chorus accurately answers; but the two lines themselves correspond completely in all details the one to the other, except that the last syllable of the first is long, the last syllable of the second short—the precise liberty which is allowed at the ends of strophes and antistrophes.

Let us pass to the next couplet :

273. τέκνων τεθνεώτων κόμισαι δέμας, ὃ μελέα ἔγω,
οὗς ὑπὸ τείχεσσι Καδμείοισιν ἀπώλεσα κούρους.

This couplet also finds no exact replica in the chorus. But here we come to a difficulty. The first line begins spondee, spondee, dactyl: the second line, dactyl, dactyl, spondee. But the difficulty is rather superficial than otherwise. I am persuaded that hardly anyone will maintain, after reflexion, that in the first line δέμας can possibly bear the plural sense which is necessarily attributed to it. It seems highly probable that μελέα really means 'limbs' and not 'wretched.' I therefore propose, in order to get rid of δέμας and also of the very dubious κόμισαι, to read :

τέκνων τεθνεώτων κομίσασθαι ἐμῶν μέλε', οἱ ἔγω.

This does not affect the metre. The second line is an astonishingly bad hexameter from any metrical point of view. Grammatically οὗς . . . κούρους after τέκνων τεθνεώτων, though violating no rule that I know of, is awkward to a degree.

I propose with some confidence to read :

τῶν, οὗς Καδμείους ὑπὸ τείχεσιν ὤλεσα κούρους.

Unless I am mistaken, the epic τῶν saves the situation. We now come to the beginning of the so-called mesode.

The first two lines seem to me sheer nonsense. There is no reason why the choric speaker should emit a series of plural imperatives, addressed to no one in particular, and still less reason, if possible, why she should ask to be 'taken,' 'carried,' or 'escorted' (or finally, if *αείρετε* is right, 'lifted'). I consider Dindorf plainly right in rejecting the lines as an adaptation of *Hecuba* 62-3,

λάβετε, φέρετε, πέμπετε, αείρετέ μου
γεραιᾶς χειρὸς προσλαζύμεναι.

The next couplet I dealt with at the beginning of this argument.

After that couplet come the two lines which conclude the supposed mesode :

280. οἴκτισαι ἀμφὶ τέκνων μ' ἰκέταν
ἦ τιν' ἀλάταν οἴκτρὸν ἰήλεμον οἴκτρὸν ἰείσαν.

ἦ τιν' ἀλάταν makes no conceivable sense. I am almost certain that this reading arises from ἀλάταν with a marginal adscript ἦ τιν, i.e. ἦ ἀλᾶτιν. ἀλήτις was a common word in late Greek, and its accusative was ἀλήτιν, e.g. Heliodorus vii. 7. 312 ἀληθῶς ἀλήτιν. It is also to be noted that ἀλήτις had a second meaning, much the same as the meaning of ἰήλεμος.

Consequently I read :

οἴκτισαι ἀμφὶ τέκνων μ' ἰκέταν, ἀλάταν,
οἴκτρὸν ἰάλεμον, οἴκτρὸν ἰείσαν - ∞.

The missing word seems to me hardly to be in doubt. The couplet is manifestly written in the logaoedic pentameter metre. The logaoedic pentameter was sacred to Demeter Ulo. One line alone of the *Harvest Hymn* survives :

πλείστον οὔλον ἔει, ἱούλον ἔει.

That line is in the specialized hendecasyllabic form of the logaoedic pentameter ; but musically there is absolutely no difference between the hendecasyllabic metre and that of this couplet. Consequently I read : ἰείσαν οὔλον.

We have now come to the end of the hypothetical mesode.

The first two lines of the supposed antistrophe are these :

282. μηδ' ἀτάφους, τέκνον, ἐν χθονὶ Κάδμου χάρματα θηρῶν
παῖδας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τᾷ σᾷ κατίδης, ἱκετεύω.

This couplet corresponds precisely to no other couplet in the chorus. Neither indeed do its two lines exactly correspond one with the other, because ἐν χθονὶ Κάδμου does not run on all fours with -α τᾷ σᾷ κατίδ-. But can anyone suppose that Euripides wrote ἐν χθονὶ Κάδμου and not ἐν Κάδμου χθονὶ?

Lastly there is the final couplet of the chorus :

284. βλέψον ἐμῶν βλεφάρων ἔπι δάκρυον, ἃ περὶ σοῖσι
γούνασιν ὧδε πίτνω, τέκνοις τάφον ἐξανύσασθαι.

Here, in order that the correspondence between the two lines may be complete, we have only to read τέκεσιν for τέκνοις.

Let me now give the complete chorus arranged according to my own views of its structure. It seems to me that the application of my hypothesis that two shorts are not convertible with a long has in this instance brought light out of darkness.

βᾶθι, τάλαιν', ἱερῶν δαπέδων ἄπο Περσεφονείας,	στρ. α'.
βᾶθι καὶ ἀντίασον γονάτων, ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλοῦσα,	ἀντ. α'.
τέκνων τεθνεώτων κομίσασθαι ἐμῶν μέλε', οἱ ἴγώ,	στρ. β'.
τῶν, οὓς Καδμείους ὑπὸ τείχεσιν ὤλεσα κούρους.	ἀντ. β'.
πρὸς σε γενειάδος ὦ φίλος, ὦ δοκιμώτατος Ἑλλάδι	στρ. γ'.
ἄντομαι, ἀμφιπίτνουσα τὸ σὸν γόνυ καὶ χέρα δειλαία,	ἀντ. γ'.
οἴκτισαι, ἀμφὶ τέκνων μ' ἱκέταν, ἀλάταν,	στρ. δ'.
οἰκτρὸν ἰάλεμον, οἰκτρὸν ἰεῖσαν οὖλον,	ἀντ. δ'.
μηδ' ἀτάφους, τέκνον, ἐν Κάδμου χθονὶ χάρματα θηρῶν	στρ. ε'.
παῖδας ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τᾷ σᾷ κατίδης, ἱκετεύω.	ἀντ. ε'.
βλέψον ἐμῶν βλεφάρων ἔπι δάκρυον, ἃ περὶ σοῖσι	στρ. ς'.
γούνασιν ὧδε πίτνω, τέκεσιν τάφον ἐξανύσασθαι.	ἀντ. ς'.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 365-380)

No instances.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 598–633)

A AND B

The seventh line of the first strophe has for its eighth, ninth, and tenth syllables a long and two shorts: the corresponding line of the first antistrophe has for its eighth, ninth, and tenth syllables two shorts and a long. Consequently we have in immediate contiguity two examples of the questioned correspondence.

The lines run thus in the MSS. :

(α) l. 604. φόνοι, μάχαι στερνοτυπείς τ' ἀνὰ τόπον

(β) l. 614. δίκη δίκαν ἐξεκάλεσε καὶ φόνος

It seems clear that in the antistrophic line we must adopt Barnes' emendation, ἐξεκάλεσσε for ἐξεκάλεσε, while in the strophic line we can choose between Markland's ἀνὰ πτόλιν and Paley's ἀνὰ χθόνα. I much prefer Markland's reading. The first word of the next line is πάλιν, which fact would amply account for a confusion leading to the corruption of πτόλιν: whereas nothing short of mutilation of the material of the archetype, an occurrence of which I have observed no indication in this portion of the *Supplices*, would explain the substitution of τόπον for an original χθόνα. I do not understand why Paley was not satisfied with Markland's emendation.

C

The ninth line of the first strophe has for its fourth and fifth syllables two shorts. The ninth line of the first antistrophe substitutes one long.

The passages are these :

(α) ll. 606–7. τάλαινα, τίνα λόγον,
τίν' ἂν τῶνδ' αἰτίαν (Hermann rightly
αἰτία) λάβοιμι ;

(β) ll. 616–7. θεοὶ βροτοῖς νέμουσ',
ἀπάντων τέρμ' ἔχοντες αὐτοί

The meaning of the strophic passage is: 'Wretched that I am, what report will be mine among men, if I become the guilty cause of these evils?'

In view of the fondness of ἄν for a place in the forefront of a sentence, it is not a little surprising to find the particle joined only to the τίν' in the second line and not to the τίνα in the first line.

I suggest that we ought to read:

τάλας, τίν' ἄν λόγον
τίν' ἄν τῶνδ' αἰτία λάβοιμι;

ταλαστινανλογον would very easily become ταλαινατινα-λογον.

For τάλας of two terminations compare Aristophanes' *Ranae* 559, where the second πανδοκεύτρια, addressing the first, says:

μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρόν, τάλαν,
ὄν οὗτος αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις κατήσθιεν.

Still more to the point is *Thesmophoriazusae* 1038, where Mnesilochus, speaking of himself in the feminine gender, in a passage evidently intended as mock-Euripidean, exclaims:

ὦ τάλας ἐγὼ τάλας.

I should conclude that τάλαν in the feminine was reasonable Attic, but that τάλας in the feminine was a Euripidean peculiarity. At the same time I agree with Paley, against Liddell and Scott, that τάλαν in the *Medea* 1057 is masculine. I also incline to agree with Paley that τάλαν is masculine in the *Ecclesiazusae* 124. But I do not see that there is any getting over the evidence of the *Thesmophoriazusae* 1038.

D

The sixth line of the second strophe begins in the MSS. with three short syllables, answered quite regularly by three other short syllables in the corresponding antistrophic line. Owing, however, to a grave difficulty as to sense,

Reiske alters the three strophic shorts to a long and a short. Thus there comes into being an artificial example of the metrical correspondence which I dispute.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 623-5. HM. εἰδείης ἂν φίλων εἰδείης ἂν τύχας.
 HM. ἔτι πότ' (Reiske changes ἔτι ποτ' to τίς ποτ') αἶσα, τίς ἄρα πότμος
 ἐπιμένει τὸν ἄλκιμον τᾶσδε γᾶς ἄνακτα;
 (b) ll. 631-3. HM. πόλει μοι ξύμμαχος γενοῦ τᾶδ' εὐμενής.
 HM. τὸ σὸν ἄγαλμα, τὸ σὸν ἴδρυμα
 πόλεος ἐκκομίζομαι πρὸς πυρὰν ὕβρι-
 σθέν

Hermann reads ἔτι ποτ' αἶσα : this he defends by quoting the Homeric ἔτι γὰρ καὶ ἐλπίδος αἶσα. But Paley justly points out the difference made by the absence of ἐλπίδος.

If the metre were obvious, one would be better able to deal with the passage ; but it does not seem safe to go beyond a statement that there are dochmiac feet in and around the lines in question ; there may also be feet of other kinds. ἔτι πότ' αἶσα τίς ἄρ- is a good dochmius. τίς ποτ' αἶσα τίς ἄρ- is not a good dochmius, but it may be a good something else.

I venture on a suggestion of a rather novel character. The whole strophic passage from l. 621 onwards runs :

- HM. ποτανὸν εἴ μέ τις θεῶν κτίσαι,
 διπόταμον ἵνα πόλιν μόλῳ.
 HM. εἰδείης ἂν φίλων εἰδείης ἂν τύχας.
 HM. ἔτι πότ' αἶσα, τίς ἄρα πότμος
 ἐπιμένει τὸν ἄλκιμον τᾶσδε γᾶς ἄνακτα ;

The repetition of the syllable ποτ- is really remarkable. What, if a reader on coming to the word πότμος, after ποτανὸν and διπόταμον, wrote in the margin the words ἔτι ποτ-, meaning, 'Here is ποτ- again' ?

If the line originally ran τίς ἄρ' ἔτ' αἶσα, τίς ἄρα πότμος, then ἔτι ποτ- τίς ἄρ' ἔτ' αἶσα would easily pass into ἔτι πότ' αἶσα.

I have grave doubts whether διπόταμον itself is not similarly corrupted. It is answered by παιδογόνε in the antistrophe. Consequently we should expect to find the first syllable long. Moreover it is preceded by the word κτίσαι, and such optative forms are always suspicious. I should much like to read :

κτίσει',

εὐπόταμον.

In that case διπόταμον would stand for δις ποτ-εὐπόταμον.

I think we must be prepared to find fantastic things sometimes happening in MSS.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 778-837)

A

The first line of the second strophe begins with an iamb, the first line of the second antistrophe with a tribrach.

(a) ll. 798-801. στεναγμόν, ὦ ματέρες,
τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς νεκρῶν
αὔσατ', ἀπύσατ' ἀντίφων' ἐμῶν
στεναγμάτων κλύουσαι.

(b) ll. 811-4. προσάγετε (Markland inserts the
necessary τῶν) δυσπότμων
σώμαθ' αἵματοσταγῇ,
σφαγέντα τ' οὐκ ἄξι', οὐδ' ὑπ' ἀξίων,
ἐν οἷς ἀγῶν ἐκράνθη.

I suggest that στεναγμόν conceals, and scarcely conceals, ἐναγισμόν.

ἐναγισμός, *parentatio*, is common enough in later Greek, and occurs in Hesychius and Suidas. But, in case any doubt may arise as to its possibility in Euripides, it seems sufficient to mention that the verb ἐναγίζω is Herodotean.

In the antistrophic line I would read :

προσάγεσθε τῶν δυσπότμων.

The strophic passage appears to require a minor correction. It is difficult in the context to take ἀντίφων' adverbially, and it is most awkward to treat it as standing in apposition either with the MS. στεναγμόν, or with my reading ἐναγισμόν. Therefore, in any case, I would put a colon after αὔσατ', and take ἀπύσατ' κτλ. as an independent clause.

I have not yet mentioned what appears to me the most interesting point, namely the process by which I suppose ἐναγισμόν gave rise to στεναγμόν. I conjecture that in some copy the first line of the strophe was marked by the prefixed letters στ., and that στ.ἐναγισμόν became eventually στεναγμόν.

I have endeavoured in a few other places to show that the marginal numbering of lines may have occasionally crept into the text; but I do not know any other passage than this where the intrusion of στ. may reasonably be suspected.

B, C, D AND E

After the end of the second antistrophe comes the concluding portion of the chorus, ll. 834-7. This is succeeded in turn by a twenty-line iambic speech in the mouth of Theseus. For whatever reasons, the end of the chorus and the beginning of Theseus' speech have alike suffered serious and recognized corruption. It indeed seems probable that at this point the material fabric of the archetype has undergone mutilation.

The main outlines of a strophe and antistrophe can be traced in the choric portion. But it is clear that what we have is not all that Euripides wrote, and it is extremely probable that a good deal of it is either not what he wrote or at any rate not as he wrote it.

According to the *prima facie* division into strophe and antistrophe, four instances of our phenomenon are observable, though one of them is almost certainly not an example of strophic and antistrophic correspondence at all. The accumulation of these irregularities in a highly corrupt passage is so patent an argument in favour of my

views, that I need not labour the deductions to be drawn from it.

I will at once give the choric passage in question, marking the four *prima facie* correspondences.

- 824 ΑΔ. ἴδετε κακῶν πέλαγος, ὦ στρ. γ'.
 825 ματέρες τάλαιναι τέκνων.
 826 ΧΟ. κατὰ μὲν ὄνυξιν ἡλοκίσμεθ', ἀμφὶ δὲ
 827 σποδὸν κára κεχύμεθα.
 828 ΑΔ. ἰὼ ἰὼ μοί μοι. Extra-strophic line.
 829 κατὰ με πέδον γὰς ἔλοι, ἀντ. γ'.
 830 διὰ δὲ θύελλα σπάσαι,
 831 πυρός τε φλογμὸς ὁ Διὸς ἐν κára πέσοι.
 832 ΧΟ. πικροῦς ἐσείδες γάμους,
 833 πικρὰν δὲ Φοίβου φάτιν· ἐπῳδ.
 834 ἔγῃμας (Markland ἔρημα δ' : Hermann
 ἔρημά σ' : Bothe ἐς ἡμᾶς) ἃ πολύ-
 835 -στονος Οἰδιπόδα
 836 δώματα λιποῦσ'
 837 ἦλθ' Ἐρινύς.

We can at once eliminate E, viz. the correspondence of the two first syllables of *κεχύμεθα* in l. 827 with the long third syllable of *ἐσείδες γάμους* in l. 832; because l. 832 begins a new speech, and therefore cannot correspond with l. 827, which ends a speech.

Perhaps the words that first call for emendation are ὁ Διὸς in l. 831. In the context they are awkward to the verge of impossibility. We may provisionally alter ὁ Διὸς to Δῖος. In l. 830, however, though it would be tempting to change διὰ into Δῖα in order to obtain strict correspondence with the long first syllable of *ματέρες* in l. 825, the fact that Δῖα with a short second syllable is unknown to tragedy, stands in the way; moreover, the preposition *in* *imesi* seems required by the balance of the passage.

For *ματέρες τάλαιναι* we want words of the scansion
 × ◡ ◡ ◡ --. This consideration drives me to read :

ὦ

ματέρες ἄπαιδνοι τέκνων.

I have had to invent the compound ἄπαιδνος. But I can think of nothing except ἄπαιδνοι that will suit at once the metre, the sense, and the *ductus literarum*.

In l. 824 it seems to me exceedingly unsafe to rely on the soundness of πέλαγος, the two initial shorts of which are answered by the long syllable γᾶς in l. 829. I suggest πλάθος. πλῆθος in iambics would doubtless remain uncorrupted; but the case is different with the unfamiliar Doric form.

I have provisionally suggested that we should read l. 831 with the words ὁ Διὸς altered :

πυρός τε φλογμὸς Δίος ἐν κάρᾳ πέσοι.

It will probably strike most readers that πυρός is somewhat otiose. The two previous lines begin respectively with κατὰ and διὰ (which latter I have shown reason for thinking genuine), both *in tmesi*. It seems strange that this device of language is not also employed in the third line, which forms the climax of the series. Another fact that appears to me suspicious is the occurrence of the optative form σπάσαι. I should much prefer to read σπάσει', and to substitute for πυρός a word beginning with a vowel.

We desiderate then at the beginning of l. 831 a prepositional form capable of being used with πέσοι, which form must follow the *ductus literarum* of πυρός, and should further begin with a vowel in order to admit of the elision of the final epsilon of σπάσειε, and should consist, if my theories are right, of three short syllables to answer the three short syllables of κατὰ μὲν in l. 826.

Is not ἐπιπρό manifestly the word ?

We have now arrived at the reading :

ἐπιπρό τε φλογμὸς Δίος ἐν κάρᾳ πέσοι.

So far as this investigation is concerned I need carry the emendation of l. 831 no further. It no longer presents any instance of the phenomenon I am attacking.

But an irregularity still remains. The first syllable of the third foot is long, whereas l. 826 admits no spondees at all. I do not think that in so extremely corrupt a

passage as this one need hesitate to say that *φλογμὸς Δίος* is in its turn very possibly a corruption of *φλέγμα Δῖον*.

I have now mentioned in detail the various textual difficulties of the strophe and antistrophe, except the fact of the occurrence of the apparently extra-strophic line 828. It seems difficult to believe that it is a mere interpolation. Copyists very seldom ventured on additions to lyric poetry, though the extraordinary and very ancient *φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι* in the second Olympian (said by the scholiasts to have been expelled by Aristophanes the grammarian, as long afterwards by Triclinius) is an instance to the contrary. I suppose that *ἰὼ ἰὼ μοί μοι* is really the first line of the third antistrophe, and that a line has dropped out at the beginning of the third strophe. That line may have run :

ἴδετ' ἀναρίθμων.

Let me set out the strophe and antistrophe as I should like to read them :

ΑΔ. *ἴδετ' ἀναρίθμων* [conjectural restoration of
lost line] στρ. γ'.

*ἴδετε κακῶν πλᾶθος, ὦ
ματέρες ἄπαιδνοι τέκνων.*

ΧΟ. *κατὰ μὲν ὄνυξιν ἡλοκίσμεθ', ἀμφὶ δὲ
σποδὸν κᾶρα κεχύμεθα.*

ΑΔ. *ἰὼ ἰὼ μοί μοι.* ἀντ. γ'.

*κατὰ με πέδον γᾶς ἔλοι,
διὰ δὲ θύελλα σπάσει',
ἐπιπρό τε φλέγμα Δῖον ἐν κᾶρα πέσοι.*

[The last line of the antistrophe is lost.]

I cannot see any possibility of arriving at an earlier stage of the text. I am satisfied that at a period considerably anterior to the formation of the received recension, the passage ran more or less as I have given it above. But there is deeper corruption in the background. The strophe does not run reasonably unless it is divided between Admetus and the Chorus. The antistrophe, on the other hand, admits of no change of person. A glance down the

rest of this fifth chorus will show how impossible this arrangement is. But we are helpless.

The alleged epode (including in it l. 832) I should keep as it stands, except that I should follow Hermann in l. 834.

As something has been lost between ll. 831 and 832, I think it very probable that not only has one line disappeared at that point, but also a whole strophe, to which the so-called epode was in reality the antistrophe. A very short epode at the end of a rather long chorus, otherwise without epodes, seems to me an improbable phenomenon.

The words of the lyric composition, whether we call it epode or fourth antistrophe, hardly strike me as Euripidean; but it is not easy to judge so short a piece. I cannot see the appropriateness of *ἑσείδες* with *Φοίβου φάτιν*, and I am not sure that the idiom of the use of *πικρός* ('to one's bane') has not been misapplied in the combination of the word with *ἑσείδες*. The normal use is seen in Sophocles' *Electra* 467-70—

*πικρὰν
δοκῶ με πείραν τήνδε τολμήσειν ἔτι.*

It is true that in *Aves* 1468 we read :

πικρὰν τάχ' ὄψει στρεψοδικοπανουργίαν.

But there the meaning is : ' You will see to your bane.' Here the meaning is quite different. The sentence about the Fury is involved and awkward.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 918-924)

This short chorus presents no apparent vestige of strophe and antistrophe. It seems good and genuine. Considering the extreme corruption of the fifth chorus, I am inclined to suppose that a strophe or antistrophe, to which it answers, has been lost, probably not from its immediate neighbourhood, for it appears to be complete in its context.

Mr. F. J. G. Mella has made to me the ingenious suggestion that this chorus is in reality the antistrophe of

the so-called epode at the end of the fifth chorus. It may be urged in favour of this view :

(1) That the first line of this chorus

ἰὼ τέκνον, δυστυχῇ σ'

corresponds exactly with what is really the first line of the alleged epode (l. 832)

πικροὺς ἐσείδες γάμους,

and that the second line of this chorus

ἔτρεφον, ἔφερον ὑφ' ἥπατος

has a distinct similarity to the second line of the alleged epode (l. 833)

πικρὰν δὲ Φοίβου φάτιν,

and (2) that iambic lines may possibly have been omitted before l. 832, so that it would not necessarily be a case of equating the end of one chorus with another chorus, and (3) that, as entities ought not to be multiplied beyond necessity, it is simpler to suppose that the two passages stand in the relation of strophe and antistrophe, than to suppose that each of the two passages separately has lost an originally existing equivalent, whether strophe or antistrophe.

But, except for the beginning, the two passages, as they stand, have little or no similarity, so that Mr. Mella's hypothesis would involve the assumption of the extremest corruption, probably of the strophe. I do not think that this is at all improbable; but absolutely no proof is obtainable.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 955-1030)

A

The seventh line of the first strophe is not answered even approximately by the seventh line of the first antistrophe. In the course of emendation of the antistrophic line an example of our phenomenon is produced, which

however vanishes when the strophic line also is emended. I accept Paley's emendation of both lines, which are these :

- (α) l. 961. πλαγκτὰ δ' ὥσει τις νεφέλα
(b) l. 969. οὐτ' ἐν ζώουσιν ἀριθμουμένη

Paley alters the antistrophic line to

οὐ ζωοῖς ἐνάριθμος,

comparing Theocritus vii. 86 :

αἶθ' ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ζωοῖς ἐναρίθμιος ὄφελος ἦμεν.

The Attic form ἀριθμουμένη is rather strong proof that Paley is right in treating the word as a gloss.

Thus the correspondence arises :

- (α) πλαγκτὰ δ' ὥσει τις νεφέλα
(b) οὐ ζωοῖς ἐνάριθμος

Not merely are the two short syllables at the beginning of νεφέλα answered by the long third syllable of ἐνάριθμος, but the long second syllable of ὥσει and the long τις (before ν) are answered by the short syllables ἐνάρ-.

But Paley also emends the strophic line to

πλαγκτὰ δ' ὥς νεφέλα τις.

I quite agree. Paley's common-sense has enabled him to solve a problem at which Musgrave and Hermann unsuccessfully tried their hands.

Musgrave reads :

οὐτ' ἐν ζῶσιν κρινομένα.

Hermann reads :

οὐ ζῶοις ἀριθμουμένη.

B

The fourth line of the second strophe begins with a dactyl, the fourth line of the second antistrophe with a spondee.

The passages are these :

- (α) l. 993-4. *λαμπάδ' ἔν' ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι*
ἱππεύουσι δι' ὄρφνας
 (β) l. 1015-6. *εὐκλείας χάριν ἔνθεν ὄρ-*
-μάσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας

It will be facility itself to read *εὐκλείας* instead of *εὐκλείας* : but the real error lies in the strophe.

Hermann brilliantly and convincingly emends the strophic lines into :

λάμπαι δ' ὠκύθοοί νιν ἀμφ-
-ἱππεύουσι δι' ὄρφνας.

The moon is being spoken of, so that Hermann's emendation seems to be put beyond dispute by the singularly beautiful hexameters of Theocritus (ii. 165-6) :

χαῖρε Σελαναία λιπαρόχροε, χαίρετε κᾶλλοι
ἄστέρες, εὐκάλοιο κατ' ἄντυγα Νυκτὸς ὀπαδοί.

Mr. Kaines Smith suggests to me that the strophic corruption is apparently due to a desire to make a hexameter.

C

The seventeenth line of the second strophe begins with a tribrach : the seventeenth line of the second antistrophe begins with an iamb, but this portion of the second antistrophe is recognized as being almost desperately corrupt.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 1005. *βίοτον αἰῶνός τε πόνους*
 (β) l. 1027. *φανῶσιν τέκνοισιν ὁ σὸς δ'*

It is almost indispensable to set forth the whole of the second strophe and antistrophe. I include in the text Hermann's emendation of l. 993.

ΕΤΑΔΝΗ

- 990 τί φέγγος, τίν' αἶγλαν στρ. β'
 ἐδιφρεύετο τάλας (Matthiae eximie ἐδίφρευε
 τόθ' ἄλιος)
 σελάνα τε κατ' αἰθέρα,
 λάμπαι δ' ὠκύθοοί νιν ἀμφ-
 -ιππεύουσι δι' ὄρφνας·
- 995 * * ἀνίκα γάμων
 τῶν ἐμῶν πόλις Ἄργους
 ἀοιδὰς εὐδαιμονίας
 ἐπύργωσεν καὶ (Paley ἐμοὶ pro καὶ) γαμέτα
 χαλκεοτευχοῦς Καπανέως ;
- 1000 προσέβαν δρομὰς ἐξ ἐμῶν
 οἴκων ἐκβακχευσάμενα,
 πυρὸς φῶς καθέξουσα (alii καθελοῦσα :
 Hermann omittit verbum) τάφον τε
 βατεύουσα (alii βατεύουσα : Hermann
 ματεύουσα : ego μαστεύουσα) τὸν αὐτόν,
 ἐς Ἄιδαν καταλύσουσ'
- 1005 ἔμμοχθον (ego ἔποχθον)
 βίοτον αἰῶνός τε πόνους·
 ἥδιστος γάρ τοι θάνατος
 συνθνήσκειν θνήσκουσι φίλοις,
- 1008 εἰ δαίμων τάδε δὴ κραίνοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

(Three iambic trimeters.)

ΕΤΑΔΝΗ

- 1012 ὀρῶ δὴ τελευτάν, ἀντ. β'
 ἦν (Reiske ἔν) ἔστακα· τύχα δέ μοι
 ξυνάπτει (Paley ξυνάπτοι) ποδὸς ἀλλὰ
 τῆς (Hermann ἄλματι pro ἀλλὰ τῆς)
- 1015 εὐκλείας χάριν ἔνθεν ὀρ-
 -μάσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας,
 πηδῆσασα πυρὸς ἔσω,
 σῶμά τ' αἶθοπι φλογμῷ

- 1020 πόσει συμμίξασα φίλον,
 χρώτα χρωτὶ πέλας θεμένα
 Περσεφονείας ἤξω (Hermann omittit ἤξω)
 θαλάμους,
 σὲ τὸν θανόντ' οὔ ποτ' ἐμᾶ
 προδοῦσα ψυχᾷ κατὰ γᾶς.
- 1025 ἴτω φῶς γάμοι τε.
 εἴθε τινὲς εὐναὶ
 δικαίων ὑμεναίων
 ἐν Ἀργεὶ
 φανῶσιν τέκνοισιν ὁ σὸς δ' } Very corrupt.
 * * εὐναῖος γαμέτας
 συντηχθεὶς αὔραις ἀδόλοις
- 1030 γενναίας ἀλόχῳ ψυχᾶς.

It will be observed that the traditional numbering of the corrupt lines at the end of the antistrophe does not correspond with that of the corresponding lines of the strophe; but this is not seriously confusing.

No editor, so far as I am aware, has made even tolerable sense, by emendation or otherwise, of the lines which I have marked "very corrupt." They form the prelude to the *sati* of Evadne; and, unless I deceive myself, it is possible and not very difficult, by means of following closely the *ductus literarum*, to reconstitute with great probability a passage too striking, in my opinion, to allow of the possibility of its reconstruction in that form being a mere matter of chance and coincidence.

I propose to read:

κάκειθ' εἴ τινες εὐναί,
 δικαίων ὑμεναίων
 ἐναρχεῖ
 ἀνύσομεν τεθμοῖς ὁσίοις.
 χλίσσει δ' εὐναῖος γαμέτας,
 συνταχθεὶς αὔραις ἀδόλοις

1030 γενναίας ἀλόχου ψυχᾶς.

I translate:

'And if there be any marrying beyond the grave, we will make haste to solemnize with holy ordinances the rites

that are the beginning of lawful wedlock; and in the marriage-bed shall my husband grow warm, thawed by the breath, wherein is no fickleness, of the noble spirit of his wife.'

κακέϊθ' εἴ appears to me nearly certain for εἴθε, in view of the well-known use of ἐκεῖ in the sense 'beyond the grave' (cf. *Choëphoroe* 355, etc.). But it is open to a possible objection. I am unable to produce an instance of the elision of iota in the case of ἐκεῖθι. But this must be due entirely to the rarity of the word. That the iota could be elided at option is demonstrated by the fact that the iota of another -θι locative, ὄθι, is twice found elided, once in the *Iliad*, and once in a trimeter of Sophocles:

ὄθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς οἰστός.

Iliad iv. 217.

στάντες δ' ὄθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τεταγμένοι βραβῆς
κλήροις ἔπηλαν καὶ κατέστησαν δίφρους
χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἤξαν.

Sophocles, *Electra* 709-11.

ἐναρχεῖ is so extraordinarily near ἐν Ἀργεῖ that I can scarcely doubt its correctness. The adjective ἐναρχεῖος does not occur elsewhere, but the verb ἐνάρχομαι, in a religious sense, is common. The religious sense must surely have also attached to the substantive ἐναρχος, and from ἐναρχος the adjective ἐναρχεῖος must have been formed in the same way that ἐπαρχεῖος (which at any rate exists in the semi-substantival neuter, of which use ἐναρχεῖ here is another example) was formed from ἑπαρχος.

The resemblance of ἀνύσομεν τεθμοῖς ὁσίοις to φανῶσιν τέκνοισιν ὁ σὸς δ' is obvious. The Doric τεθμοῖς was clearly liable to be corrupted into τέκνοις.

The spondaic future verb before εὐναῖος γαμέτας has wholly perished. I read χλίσσει because I know no word of the required scansion that is equally appropriate. χλῖω must have been so unfamiliar to the copyists (it occurs twice in Aeschylus) as to be likely to disappear.

I think that ἀλόχῳ should be altered to ἀλόχου. It is true that συντηχθεῖς ἀλόχῳ could mean 'united to his

wife,' the word 'united' being put very strongly indeed. But the position of ἀλόχῳ is altogether against this, and συντήκειν several times means simply 'to melt.'

The only alterations in the strophe necessitated by this reconstitution are two in number. In l. 1003 I propose to read μαστεύουσα instead of Hermann's ματεύουσα, and in l. 1007 ἔποχθον for the MS. reading ἔμμοχθον. ἔποχθος does not actually occur; but its existence is proved by the existence of ἐποχθίζων (Oppian, *Halieutica* v. 170).

I have had to travel a rather lengthy road in my endeavour to make probable the position that the second syllable of φανῶσι cannot be relied on as having originally balanced the second and third syllables of βίοτον; but I think that I have attained my object. Special instances can, in one sense, only be dealt with by special pleading; but if the special pleading is successful in a sufficiently large number of cases, then it ceases to be special in any invidious sense, because it is seen to be based upon a sound general principle.

With regard to the question as to the elision of the final iota of ἐκεῖθι, which I have very briefly discussed above, it may be worth while to point out that ἐκεῖθ' is manifestly a form not likely to have been permanent in our texts.

Take, for example, *Hecuba* 418. There we read:

ἐκεῖ δ' ἐν Ἄιδου κείσομαι χωρὶς σέθεν.

But look at the context:

ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΗ ὥς οὔ ποτ' αὖθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον
ἀκτῖνα κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόψομαι.
τέλος δέχει δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων.
ὦ μήτερ, ὦ τεκοῦσ', ἄπειμι δὴ κάτω.

EKABH ὦ θύγατερ, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν φάει δουλεύσομεν.

ΠΟΛ. ἀνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος, ὦν μ' ἔχρην τυχεῖν.

EK. οἰκτρὰ σύ, τέκνον, ἀθλία δ' ἐγὼ γυνή.

ΠΟΛ. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐν Ἄιδου κείσομαι χωρὶς σέθεν.

EK. οἶμοι τί δράσω; ποῖ τελευτήσω βίον;

It is apparent that

ἀνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος, ὦν με χρῆν (μ' ἐχρῆν is barbarous)
τυχεῖν.

has no construction at all, unless *ἄνυμφος*, *ἀννυμέναιος* agree with the subject of

ὦ μήτερ, ὦ τεκοῦς', ἄπειμι δὴ κάτω.

But I know of no instance of the interruption of a sentence by the first line of a stichomythia, though inside stichomythiae sentences are frequently interrupted by lines in the mouths of other speakers.

Therefore I ask consideration for the reading :

EK. ὦ θύγατερ, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν φάει δουλεύσομεν.

ΠΟΛ. ἄνυμνος, ἀννυμέναιος, ὦν με χρῆν τυχεῖν,—

EK. οἰκτρὰ σύ, τέκνον, ἀθλία δ' ἐγὼ γυνή.

ΠΟΛ. ἐκεῖθ' ἐν ᾿Αιδου κείσομαι χωρὶς σέθεν.

We must read *ἄνυμνος* (made more precise in *ἀννυμέναιος*) for *ἄνυμφος*. *ἄνυμφος*, except in an oxymoron (cf. *Hecuba* 612 *νύμφην τ' ἄνυμφον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον*), can only mean 'without a bride.'

EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1072–1079)

This is a dochmiac chorus, with interspersed tragic trimeters. The dochmiac metre has become partially obscured; and it is impossible, in the present state of the text, to divide into strophe and antistrophe. Consequently there are no examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

NINTH CHORUS (ll. 1123–1164)

In the first strophe and antistrophe it is worth while to observe that the second and third lines and also the eighth lines are iambic trimeters, viz. :

(α) ll. 1124, 1125 and 1130.

τάλαινα μάτερ, ἐκ πυρὸς πατρὸς μέλη,

βάρος μὲν οὐκ ἀβριθὲς ἀλγέων ὕπερ,

*

*

*

σποδοῦ τε πληθὺς ὀλίγον ἀντὶ σωμαμάτων.

(b) ll. 1133, 1134 and 1137.

ἐγὼ δ' ἔρημος ἀθλίου πατρὸς τάλας
ἔρημον οἶκον ὀρφανεύσομαι λαβὼν

* * *

τροφαί τε ματρός, αὔπνιά τ' ὀμμάτων τέλη.

It is of great importance to note the exact syllabic correspondence, including the tribrach in the third foot of either third line. But the correspondence is broken at one point. l. 1125 ends with ὑπερ, and the next line begins with a vowel: l. 1134 ends with λαβὼν. Paley points out, without reference to metre, the unusual sense, *propter*, that must be attached to ὑπερ and suggests φέρων.

The second strophe and antistrophe present two iambic trimeters each:

(a) ll. 1139, 1144. βεβᾶσιν, οὐκέτ' εἰσί σοι, μήτερ, τέκνα,

* * *

ἄρ' ἀσπιδούχος ἔτι ποτ' ἀντιτίσσομαι
(so Canter for ἀντιτάσσομαι)

(b) ll. 1146, 1152. ἔτ' ἂν θεοῦ θέλοντος ἔλθοι μοι δίκη

* * *

χαλκείῃσι ὄπλοισι Δαναϊδῶν στρατη-
λάταν;

Notice that ll. 1139 and 1146 are not pure iambic lines. Nevertheless they exactly correspond, including their respective fifth feet, with the exception that final τέκνα is answered by final δίκᾱ. For τέκνα I suggest τέκη. ll. 1144 and 1152 completely correspond, including the tribrachs in the third feet.

The third strophe and antistrophe have two iambic trimeters apiece:

(a) ll. 1154-5. ἔτ' εἰσορᾶν σε, πάτερ, ἐπ' ὀμμάτων
δοκῶ.

φίλον φίλημα παρὰ γένυν τιθέντα σόν

(b) ll. 1159-60. ἔχω τοσόνδε βάρος ὅσον μ' ἀπώλεσεν.

φέρ', ἀμφὶ μαστὸν ὑποβάλω σποδὸν

(Hermann adds τέκνου, to complete
sense and metre)

These sets of two lines (admitting Hermann's addition) correspond in the minutest particulars, including one tribrach in each line.

Bothe does not add τέκνον, but reads l. 1155 thus :

φίλον φίλημα θέντα παρὰ γένυν.

A AND B

Hence there are introduced, on Bothe's reading, two artificial examples of my phenomenon, viz. :

(a) l. 1155. φίλον φίλημα θέντα παρὰ γένυν

(b) l. 1160. φέρ', ἀμφὶ μαστὸν ὑποβάλω σποδὸν

This is wanton work and I will pass on.

C AND D

In the fourth line in the third strophe the first foot is an iamb: in the fourth line in the third antistrophe it is a dactyl. Hence the initial short syllable of the iamb is answered by the initial long syllable of the dactyl, and the final long syllable of the iamb is answered by the two final short syllables of the dactyl.

The strophic line ends with an anapaest, the antistrophic line with an iamb corresponding to the anapaest. The anapaest is emended by Hermann into a tribrach, so that we have the two final short syllables of that tribrach answered by the final long syllable of the antistrophic iamb.

The passages are these :

(a) ll. 1157-8. δυοῖν δ' ἄχῃ, ματέρι τ' ἔλιπες (Hermann
ἔλιπε),

σέ τ' οὐποτ' ἄλγῃ πατρῷα λείψει

(b) ll. 1163-4. ὦ τέκνον, ἔβας· οὐκέτι φίλον

φίλας ἀγαλμ' ὄψομαι σε ματρός

The grammatical reason for the change of ἔλιπες to ἔλιπε is that the person meant by σέ in l. 1158 is not the same person as the subject of ἔλιπες in l. 1157. But,

even with Hermann's emendation, it seems impossible, consistently with the laws of articulate speech, to make reasonable sense of the strophic couplet.

I regard the antistrophic couplet as sound. I take the first syllable of τέκνον as long, and read the strophic lines thus :

δυοῖν δὺ ἄχῃ· ματέρα τ' ἐπεὶ
σέ τ' οὐποτ' ἄλγῃ πατρῶα λείψει.

I should like to go a little further, and read δισσοῖν δὺ ἄχῃ. This chorus does not seem to admit the licence which the correspondence of δὺ- with ᾧ involves. But that is beside the point.

I suggest that we have here an example of epigraphic interpolation, more or less similar to that which I think I have exposed in my discussion of ll. 621-5 of this play. I consider that ἔλιπες is a corruption of ἐν ἐπεὶ, and that ἐν is in its turn the superscript note of some rather foolish commentator, who, seeing that there were two woes mentioned at the beginning of the line, wrote 'one' when he came to the point where the former woe was defined.

Very possibly he may also have written δύο at the beginning of l. 1158. In that case the δύο may well have been taken as a correction of δισσοῖν in the previous line, and so would account for the existing reading δυοῖν.

Of course I am well aware of the treacherous nature of this kind of argument, and should be sorry to rest any firm conclusion on such a basis. But it is manifest that MSS. must necessarily have been liable to corruption of the sort I have indicated, and I think I am justified in pointing out the clear possibility of such corruption having occurred in this passage.

After all I am not really concerned to do more than show that the MSS. may very well be corrupt. The *onus probandi* is not with me, but with those who assert the lawfulness of a particular metrical phenomenon.

I should be well content to rest my case upon the evidence of the *Supplices*. The play illustrates in a striking manner my contention that the phenomenon I

am investigating is to so large an extent bound up with corruption of a patent kind that it incurs the strong suspicion of being itself the child of corruption.

SUMMARY

The *Supplices* of Euripides presents sixteen examples of the phenomenon in question, and five others are the results of emendation. Of the sixteen, three sets of two each occur within the compass of single lines. A number of the ten examples that remain over would give rise to misgivings unconnected with metre.

ION

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 112–236)

This chorus consists of a first strophe and antistrophe (ll. 112–43), of a passage (ll. 144–83), indivisible into strophe and antistrophe, which consists mainly of lyrical anapaestic lines, highly spondaic in character, but interspersed with a few lines Doric indeed in diction, but non-lyrical in metre, of a second strophe and antistrophe (ll. 184–204), and of a third strophe and antistrophe (ll. 205–36). A remarkable peculiarity of the third antistrophe is that its course is repeatedly interrupted by lines and even a whole passage, in various metres, in the mouth of Ion, which interruptions have no counterpart at all in the strophe. It is unnecessary for my purpose to discuss what particular kind of corruption has given rise to these interruptions: it is not necessary for my purpose to discuss the manifest fact that corruption of some kind must be present.

Both in the non-strophic-antistrophic passage between the first antistrophe and the second strophe, and also in the third strophe, I seem to discover the *disiecta membra* of quite a number of *versus politici*. I certainly suspect that this is a case where the existence of a Political paraphrase has interfered with the original text (see my remarks on the *Iphigenia in Tauris*); but I shall not on this occasion enter into that question, as it seems to have little if any bearing on the examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, which present themselves here.

They are three in number.

A

In the sixth line of the first strophe the first foot is a tribrach: in the sixth line of the first antistrophe the first foot is a spondee. Hence it is possible either to regard the first and second shorts of the strophic line as answered by the first long of the antistrophic line, or else to take the second and third shorts of the strophic line as finding their equivalent in the second long of the antistrophic line. In either case the instance of the phenomenon in question is coupled with the balancing of a single short by a single long. This two-fold licence should awake suspicion even in the minds of those who dispute the validity of the rigid canon for which I am arguing.

The lines are:

(a) l. 117. ἵνα δρόσοι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί (alternatively
ἵνα δρόσοι κτλ.)

(b) l. 133. οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις (alternatively
οὐ θνατοῖς κτλ.)

It would of course be possible to substitute for ἵνα the word ἀ, 'where.' These locatives have properly no iota subscript, and ἀ would be very likely to be expanded into ἵνα. But that treatment would result in leaving the short first syllable of δρόσοι to be answered by the long first syllable of θνατοῖς. That phenomenon is distinct from the phenomenon which is the subject matter of this tractate, and I do not venture at present to speak at all

decidedly as to the limits within which it is permissible. But I greatly question its permissibility in the second syllable of a line, though I am aware that, as far as MS. evidence goes, the position in question has something to say for itself.

I believe that in reality we have here an excellent example of a gloss mistaken for a correction. I read :

ὣν ἔρσαι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί.

My contention is that **INAEPCAI** (with the elided alpha written at full length, probably about the date of the Herodes papyrus) was misread **INΔEPCAI**, and that a gloss **ΔPOCOI** was taken to be a correction of the unintelligible **ΔEPCAI**, so that the text was altered to **INAAPOCOI**. Glosses were apt to be mistaken for corrections whenever they bore a strong graphical resemblance to the word they glossed, with or without letters properly belonging to adjacent words.

Starting with Pindar, and working down through the choruses of the dramatists, I can discover no evidence to show that glosses were ever incorporated in the text by a mere process of accretion or substitution. In every instance where I assume the interpolation of a gloss, there is something or other about the passage to render it reasonable to suppose that the copyist regarded the gloss not as a gloss but as an intentional correction.

I must not be understood as travelling outside my province and applying this observation to prose authors. Rutherford's view that the text of Thucydides abounds in glossematical notes incorporated in the original narrative seems to me incontestable. Possibly circumstances may exist which, even in the case of Thucydides, led copyists to mistake glosses for corrections. It would be very easy to make the mistake when dealing with a prose author in the event of a short explanatory clause appearing somewhere by the side of the text. But I think that the conditions of verse and prose MSS. were essentially different. Most metres employ lines of so inconsiderable a length that the MS. of a verse-writer almost necessarily has blank margins of some size. In these margins notes

of all kinds may conveniently be written, and kept well apart from the text of the poem. A MS. of a prose-author, on the other hand, is liable to stretch from one side of the page to the other. I have before me as I write the facsimile of the papyrus of Aristotle's *De Republica Atheniensium*, and I observe that margins are almost non-existent. In such a condition of things, it must often have been necessary to interlineate glosses in such a manner that it would be difficult to distinguish them from the surrounding text.

B AND C

In the thirteenth line of the third strophe the first and fourth syllables are longs: in the thirteenth line (not counting the interjected observations of Ion) of the third antistrophe each of these longs is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 217. ἀπολέμοις κισσίνοισι βάκτροις

(b) l. 235. τρόφιμα μέλαθρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων

In order to make ἀπολέμοις correspond at all to τρόφιμα μέλαθρα, it is necessary to scan the first syllable of ἀπολέμοις as long, and the second syllable of μέλαθρα as short. Now the first syllable of θάνατος is long because of Epic influence, but no such influence exists to justify ἄπόλεμος, because Epic invariably had recourse to the other form ἀπτόλεμος. Therefore I regard ἄπολέμοις as almost an impossibility.

Most editors read ἀπολέμοισι. This produces the correspondence:

(a) ἀπολέμοισι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις

(b) τρόφιμα μέλαθρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων

Recourse to a supposition of haplography removes all difficulty.

Read (including the context):

καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον

ὑπ' ἀπολέμοισι κισσίνοισι Βάκτροις

ἐναίρει κτλ.

The idiomatic use of *ὑπό* with the dative as applied to the weapons either of nature or of art is common both to Homer and to tragedy. To combine *ὑπό* and *ἀπολέμοισι* is to produce an effect in the nature of an oxymoron, which seems to me to add force and clearness to the expression of the thought underlying the passage.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 452-509)

When a chorus begins with the first half of a *versus politicus* (σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν), one is much tempted to assume at least contamination from a Political paraphrase; but it makes no difference for my purposes whether such contamination exists or not.

The chorus presents only one example of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring.

In the twelfth line of the strophe the final syllables are two shorts: in the twelfth line of the antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines run as follows:

(a) l. 463. παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι

(b) l. 483. δορί τε γὰρ πατρίᾳ φέρει

It is clear that something has gone wrong with the strophe. This is the context:

Φοιβήιος ἔνθα γὰρ
 μεσόμφαλος ἐστία
 παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι
 μαντεύματα κραίνει.

The μεσόμφαλος ἐστία as distinguished from, and being by the side of, the τρίπους, cannot well be said μαντεύματα κραίνειν. Rather, if a distinction between the two is to be made, it is the τρίπους itself that μαντεύματα κραίνει.

But this is by no means the whole of the objection to which the existing text is open. No reasonable sense can be assigned to χορευομένῳ in the context. The word cannot by any possibility be translated as if it were περιχορευομένῳ, and the usual rendering 'the theme of lyric song' (or 'the

object celebrated in lyric dance') is inappropriate to the tripod. Moreover, when *χορεύειν* means 'to celebrate chorally,' it invariably has reference to a person or to a distinctly personified object.

Wieseler reads :

περιχορευομένῳ τρίποδι.

I consider that he is partially right, because of what appears to be an indirect quotation in Himerius (p. 212. 12): *περιχορεύουσι μετὰ παιάνων τὸν τρίποδα*. But I cannot acquiesce in the view that the *ἑστία* can with any propriety be said *μαντεύματα κραίνειν* to or for the tripod.

I suggest somewhat confidently that we ought to read:

*Φοιβήιος ἔνθα γὰς
μεσόμφαλος ἑστία,
περιχορευόμενος τρίπους,
μαντεύματα κραίνει.*

περι was separated from *χορευόμενος*. This resulted in the necessary "correction," *περὶ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι*. Then the slight change of *περὶ* into *παρὰ* was made in order to improve the sense.

I do not think that the identification of the *ἑστία* with the *τρίπους* presents any real difficulty, although it may have muddled the copyists. The *τρίπους*, in its origin, can hardly have been anything else than, to use the Homeric phrase, a *τρίπους ἐμπυριβήτης*, and its Delphic use as a seat for the Pythoness may well be a ceremonial survival from the days of human sacrifice. Photius and others define *ἑστία* as *χυτρόπους*. If a *χυτρόπους* had three feet it would be a *τρίπους*. In fact, though *ἑστία* and *τρίπους* have not conterminous significations, there was a class of objects which could be styled either *ἑστίαι* or *τρίποδες* indifferently.

Mr. Kaines Smith objects that there is nothing in Delphic usage to connect the tripod with fire. He holds, on a review of the authorities, that it was in origin a device to secure the priestess against the danger of falling into the chasm.

I consider it singular that so specific an utensil as the tripod should have been adopted to serve such a purpose ;

but, even if it be the case that the tripod at Delphi was originally unconnected with fire, nevertheless that fact can hardly have been matter of general knowledge in Greece. There is no reason why Euripides at any rate should not equate the *ἑστία* and the *τρίπους*.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 676-724)

This chorus, which consists of a recognized strophe, antistrophe, and so-called epode, presents in the recognized strophe and antistrophe seven examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. I will borrow a remark of Dr. Verrall's, which he makes *à propos* of l. 690: "It is impossible to say whether there is only corruption here or interpolation too."

A

In the second line of the strophe the first syllable is a long, and after the long comes another long (there is no possible sense or grammar): in the second line of the antistrophe the first long of the strophic line is replaced by a short, and the second long by two shorts. It would be equally possible *a priori* to say that the first long is replaced by two shorts, and the second long by one short; but that would be an inartistic view (see my remarks on ll. 117 and 133 of this play).

The lines are these:

(a) l. 677. ἄλλας γε στεναγμῶν εἰσβολάς

(b) l. 696. τάδε τορῶς ἐς οὓς γεγωνήσομεν

This is the strophic context:

ll. 676-7. ὀρῶ δάκρυα καὶ πενθίμους
ἄλλας γε στεναγμῶν εἰσβολάς.

A splendid emendation of Hermann's goes a long way towards restoring the passage. He proposed ἀλαλαγὰς instead of ἄλλας γε, and the insertion of τ' before εἰσβολάς. Musgrave had previously changed, very rightly, στεναγμῶν into στεναγμάτων.

The result brings strophe and antistrophe into accord :

ὀρῶ δάκρυα καὶ πενθίμους
ἀλαλαγὰς στεναγμάτων τ' εἰσβολάς.

That is to say, it brings them into accord as far as the second line of the strophe and of the antistrophe are concerned. The first line of the strophe and the first line of the antistrophe are not brought into complete accord with one another, neither is the full dochmiac metre intact in one case or the other ; but that lies outside my present province.

B AND C

The sixth and seventh lines of the strophe and antistrophe respectively together make in either case a series of three dochmii. In the strophe the first dochmius begins with an iamb, and the third dochmius also with an iamb : in the antistrophic passage both of the dochmii in question begin with tribrachs.

The lines are these :

(α) ll. 681-2. τίν', ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη-
-σας ὑμνωδίαν ;

(β) ll. 700-1. πολὺν εἰσπεσοῦσα γῆρας, πόσις δ'
ἀτίετος φίλων

Let us look for a moment at the antistrophic context. Its grammar is astounding, and yet editors do not appear to take serious exception to it. It runs thus :

νῦν δ' ἡ μὲν ἔρρει συμφοραῖς, ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ,
πολὺν εἰσπεσοῦσα γῆρας, πόσις δ' 700
ἀτίετος φίλων.

There is no conceivable justification for the feminine εἰσπεσοῦσα, though of course, as the text stands, sense requires the feminine. ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ cannot be taken as a parenthesis. The δ' answers the μὲν of ἡ μὲν ἔρρει, and that fact shows conclusively that ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ is in the main flow of the complex sentence. More than that, it is the principal clause of the sentence. Phrases with μὲν are

in Greek subordinate to phrases with δέ, and it is well known that the best English translation of μέν is often 'although.' Therefore the occurrence, after ó δ' εὐτυχεῖ, of a feminine participle in agreement with the ἡ of ἡ μὲν is proof positive of corruption.

πόσις δ' ἀτίετος φίλων ought to mean: 'And the husband is without the esteem of friends' (or 'of his nearest and dearest'). But the requirements of the text, as it stands, force the words to mean: 'And the husband fails to esteem his nearest and dearest.'

The reference to πολὺν γῆρας is extremely strange. Creusa, in fact, had arrived at nothing like πολὺν γῆρας, and the visit of Xuthus and Creusa to Delphi was undertaken with the express purpose that she might bear issue to her husband (see the expression ἔρωτι παίδων in l. 67 of this play).

I think that we must be prepared to recognize that in the antistrophic passage the words of Euripides have been so misread that the existing text differs materially and radically from what he wrote. Curiosities of sense and diction, of the kind which I have indicated, cannot be due to an interpolator (for even interpolators have a considerable share of common sense), but must have arisen in the course of a struggle to make something or other out of an obscure *ductus literarum*.

Matters have gone too far for it to be possible to emend with any high degree of probability; but still there seem to be indications which lead to at any rate a very possible reconstitution.

ἀτίετος is remarkably like αἰετός.

Taking that clue, I propose in the antistrophe:

νῦν δ' ἡ μὲν ἔρρει συμφοραῖς, ó δ' εὐτυχεῖ,
 πόλιν δ' εὐπετῶς ἀγρήσας πρόεστ'
 αἰετός ὥς φαβῶν. 700

This is really very near the *ductus literarum*, and makes to my mind the sense which is appropriate to the passage.

I accent αἰετός ὥς φαβῶν and not αἰετός ὡς φαβῶν because the Greek idiom, when it has a chance, almost

invariably in such a case mixes a metaphor and a simile. It is good Greek to say 'he excels the pigeons like an eagle,' when the logical sense is 'he excels the citizens as much as an eagle excels pigeons': it would be very unidiomatic Greek to say 'he excels (them) as an eagle excels pigeons.'

But why do I introduce the word ὤς, which has no counterpart in the existing text?

It is because of the strophe. We there read:

τίν', ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη-
-σας ὑμνωδίαν;

Now it is perfectly possible that Euripides should have made the first syllable of ὑμνωδίαν short, and that later editors, in ignorance of the qualities of the combination *μν*, should have altered what he wrote in order to make the syllable in question long. In the strophe I propose:

τίν', ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη-
-σάς ποθ' ὑμνωδίαν;

D, E, F AND G

The thirteenth line of the strophe is, to outward appearance, a dochmius, with one short syllable prefixed: the thirteenth line of the antistrophe is, in outward appearance, a dochmius with one long syllable prefixed. An emendation, based on grammar, changes the short syllable at the beginning of the strophic line into two short syllables. Hence D. E and F arise thus: the dochmius in the strophic line is of the form *υ υ υ - υ -* (but the final long syllable is only long in defiance of *synapheia*); but the dochmius in the antistrophic line is of the form *υ υ υ υ υ υ υ*.

G comes into being in this way: the fourteenth line of the strophe is a dochmius of the form *υ υ υ υ υ -*; but the fourteenth line of the antistrophe is a dochmius of the form *υ υ υ - υ -*.

The passages run thus :

- (α) ll. 687-90. δειμαίνω συμφορὰν
 ἐφ' ὃ (some editors not ὃ but ὅτι) ποτε
 βάσεται.
 ἄτοπος ἄτοπα γὰρ
 παραδίδωσί μοι.
- (β) ll. 706-9. καὶ θεοῖσιν μὴ τύχοι
 καλλίφλογα πέλανον ἐπὶ
 πυρὶ καθαγίσας·
 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν εἴσεται.

The real fact of the matter is that the metre of the antistrophe has been upset by the introduction of the word *καθαγίσας* by mistake for *καθαγίσας* into l. 708. *καθαγνίζειν* means 'to consecrate': it is *καθαγίζειν* which signifies 'to sacrifice as a burnt offering.' The mistake has led to the last syllable of ἐπὶ being transferred from l. 708 to l. 707. There is in reality no extra-dochmiac syllable at the beginning of l. 707. It is difficult to say whether the strophe has suffered consequentially or independently.

I would read :

- (α) δείδια συμφορὰν
 μέσφ' ὅποτε τελέσετ' αἶ.
 ἄτοπος ἄτοπα γὰρ
 παραδίδωσί μοι.
- (β) θεοῖσι δὲ μὴ τύχοι
 καλλίφλογα πέλανον ἐ-
 πὶ πυρὶ καθαγίσας·
 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν εἴσεται.

Of course my emendation of l. 688 is highly tentative : corruption has gone too far for anything like certainty to be obtainable. But the general treatment of the passage rests on the restoration of *καθαγίσας* for *καθαγνίσας* : and as to this and the broad results which flow from it I see no room for doubt.

Even were it possible for *καθαγνίζειν* to bear the sense of *καθαγίζειν*, I should not hesitate to read *καθαγίσας* simply on the strength of the removal, by that reading, of the

impossible superfluous syllable at the beginning of l. 707. But as a matter of fact no parallel use of *καθαγνίζειν* can be adduced, except from Sophocles' *Antigone* 1081:

ὅσων σπαράγματ' ἦ κύνες καθήγγισαν.

But there the original reading of Codex V is *καθήγγισαν*. This Burton and most later editors rightly adopt. In fact the vulgate reading in the *Antigone* is somewhat important as confirming the *a priori* probability that forms of *καθαγνίζειν* are likely to be corrupted into forms of *καθαγνίσειν*.

After the recognized strophe and antistrophe of this ode come a series of dochmii which are evidently, and with the admission of editors of the play, very corrupt. These dochmii are taken as forming an epode.

But it appears to be highly doubtful whether it is consistent with the nature of an epode that it should be written in any of the strict and formal metres. It must be remembered that Pindar does not employ any of the strict metres at all. The tragedians make fairly free use of them; but in the case of strophe and antistrophe they are kept in subordination to the general lyric scheme by the fact that they are subject to the law of syllabic correspondence. In tragic lyrics an epode is not balanced by a corresponding epode. The consequence is that, if an epode in tragic chorus were written in a strict metre (such as the hexametrical, the dochmiac, or the Ionic *a minore*), the effect would be singularly unlyrical.

This *a priori* argument seems to be sustained by the actual practice of the tragedians. The apparent instances (such as that which we have here) are too few in number and too obviously beset with corruptions to make it reasonable to suppose that they are anything else than passages in which an original strophic-antistrophic arrangement has become obscured.

In this case it is easily possible, on the assumption that the first line of the strophe has perished, to divide into strophe and antistrophe. It is not easily possible to bring the strophe and antistrophe into anything like exact correspondence; but in those places where very glaring

discrepancies occur, we find either fundamental violations of dochmiac scansion or other no less obvious corruptions.

The lines run thus in the MSS. :

ἵνα δειράδες Παρνασοῦ πέτρας
 ἔχουσai σκόπελον οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν, 715
 ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπόρους (so C: B ἀμφὶ πόρους :
 Brodæus ἀμφιπύρους) ἀνέχων πεύκας
 λαιψήρὰ πηδᾶ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις.
 μή ποθ' (Hermann μή τί ποτ') εἰς ἑμὴν πόλιν
 ἵκοιθ' ὁ παῖς,
 νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι. 720
 στενομένα γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἔχοι σκῆψιν
 ξενικὸν εἰσβολάν.
 ἀλίσσας ὁ πάρος ἀρχαγὸς ὦν
 Ἐρεχθεὺς ἄναξ.

A division into strophe and antistrophe, without any correction of text, brings to light four examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

H, I, K AND L

* * * * * στρ. β'
 ἵνα δειράδες Παρνασοῦ πέτρας
 ἔχουσai σκόπελον οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν,
 ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπόρους ἀνέχων πεύκας
 λαιψήρὰ πηδᾶ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις.
 μή τί ποτ' εἰς ἑμὴν πόλιν ἵκοιθ' ὁ παῖς, ἀντ. β'
 νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι.
 στενομένα γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἔχοι σκῆψιν
 ξενικὸν εἰσβολάν. ἀλίσσας ὁ πάρος
 ἀρχαγὸς ὦν Ἐρεχθεὺς ἄναξ.

In the second (the first surviving) line of the strophe the second dochmius is of the faulty form --- ∪ -: in the second line of the antistrophe the second dochmius is of the form ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ -. (H.)

In the third (the second surviving) line of the strophe the first dochmius is of the form ∪ - - ∪ ∪ ∪ : in the third line of the antistrophe the first dochmius is of the form ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ -. (I AND K.)

In the fifth (the fourth surviving) line of the strophe after a faulty dochmius we have a combination of syllables beginning with a dactyl: in the fifth line of the antistrophe after a faulty dochmius we have a good dochmius beginning with an iamb. (L.)

It seems to me that little pieces of this strophe and antistrophe may be emended with some approach to certainty, but that with regard to other parts of it one is largely in the dark. At least three times transposition has to be employed; but it is very simple transposition. It almost looks to me as if we were dealing here and there with a prose "ordo." I do not know whether the suggestion I am about to make that Bacchus is really described as steering the Bacchantes by their streaming locks, as by a rudder, will be thought too fantastic for serious poetry; but it must be remembered that the tragedians did not shrink from the description of Bacchanalian extravagance, and it is the *ductus literarum* which makes me hazard the opinion that Euripides wrote something of the kind—of course I go no further than to say "something of the kind."

I propose extremely tentatively (taking from Badham *iō* for *īva* in l. 714):

* * * * *

στρ. β'

ἰὼ δειράδες προναῖτου πέτρας,
 σκόπελον αἶ τ' ἔχουσ' οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν,
 Βάκχιος ἀμφίρους ἔν' ἀνέχει πλοκάς,
 μακρὰ γυναιξὶ πηδὰ νυκτιπλόοις.
 μή τί ποτ' εἰς ἑμὴν πόλιν ἵκοιθ' ὁ παῖς, ἀντ. β'
 νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι.
 στενομένα γὰρ ἂν σκῆψιν ἔχοι πόλιν
 τὸ ξένον ἐκβαλεῖν. αἴλις ὃ γ' ἀλίστας,
 ὁ πάρος ἀρχὸς ὢν, Ἐρεχθεὺς ἀναξ.

Compare Horace, *Carm.* II. xix. 16–20:

Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
 Tu separatis uvidus in iugis
 Nodo coerces viperino
 Bistonidum sine fraude crines.

I think that the shortening of the alpha of *προναῖτον* would be in the manner of Euripides. He shortens *ἄελιος*, and other words of the same kind.

I get *μακρὰ γυναιξί* from *λαιφῆρὰ* and *ἄμα σύν*. I take a more original order than that of the existing text to have been in substance

ἄμα -ρὰ σύν λαιφῆρ-.

Or rather, some distortion of *μακρὰ γυναιξί* was re-arranged so as to form *λαιφῆρὰ* and *ἄμα σύν*, which distortion cannot have been very unlike

αμαρασυνλαιφῆρ.

The plural *πηδά* is extant only in Aratus (*Phaen.* 155). But the neuter form is well attested in the ancient lexica.

It seems extremely possible that l. 716 has assumed its present form under the influence of the Euripidean *διπύρους ἀνέχουσα λαμπάδας*, which occurs in Aristophanes' *Ranae* (ll. 1361-2), but as to which it is not known from what play it is taken.

I would call especial attention to a statement in Photius' Lexicon. He writes *πηδάλια, οἶακες, αὐχέρες*. I find no trace of *πηδάλιον* bearing any meaning similar to that of 'neck.' What if Photius had before him this passage in something like the form which I have suggested in my reconstitution, but with the common word *πηδάλια* instead of the rare word *πηδὰ*? A little misunderstanding might easily have led him to imagine that *μακρὰ πηδάλια* meant the long necks of the Bacchantes. I suggest that he may have taken *ἀμφίρους* as governing *πηδάλια*—'where Bacchus holds up the plaited locks that stream about the long necks of the women that cruise by night.' Of course I myself translate 'where Bacchus holds in his hands the plaited locks that stream on either side, the rudder-lines with which he guides the women that cruise by night.'

Germanicus Caesar's translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* certainly seems to assign to *πηδά* the sense of 'rudens.' He does not translate Aratus accurately; but his testimony, so far as it goes, appears to show that he regarded *πηδά* as Greek for ropes of some kind. I infer that the real truth

is that *πηδά* were the rudder-lines. That exactly fits my reconstitution.

For *νυκτιπλόοις* compare Antimachus, *Fragment* LXVI. (57):

τοῖσιν δ' ὑλήεντα διὰ πλόον ἐρχομένοισι.

On that line Schellenberg remarks "fortasse per Cithaeronem."

FOURTH CHORUS (at intervals, with tragic dialogue interspersed, ll. 752-799)

It seems to me incontestable that we have here four strophes and antistrophes. But there is clearly much corruption, and perhaps some interpolation.

The first strophe and antistrophe are so short as to engender suspicion. They consist of ll. 752 and 754 respectively:

ἰὼ δαῖμον.	στρ. α'
.....	
ἰὼ τλάμον	ἀντ. α'

The second strophe and antistrophe consist of the groups of ll. 763-4 and 765-8 (the MSS. assign the whole strophe to the Pedagogue):

ΚΡ. ὦμοι, θάνοιμι.	στρ. β'
ΠΑΙ. θύγατερ. ΚΡ. ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ συμφορᾶς.	
(The MSS. here repeat l. 759: εἴφ'· ὥς ἔχεις γε συμφορὰν τιν' εἰς ἐμέ.)	
ἔλαβον, ἔπαθον ἄχος βίοντον (Hermann rightly corrects βίοντον to ἄβιον on strength of Bekker's <i>Anecdota</i> p. 323), ὦ φίλαι.	
ΠΑΙ. διοιχόμεσθα,	ἀντ. β'
τέκνον. ΚΡ. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ· διανταῖος ἔτυ- -πεν ὁδύνα με πνευμόνων τῶνδ' ἔσω.	

Here we have four examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

I greatly suspect iambelegi in the tragedians. Moreover the shortness of the strophe and antistrophe adds to my suspicion.

The fifth strophe and antistrophe are to be found in two speeches of Creon (ll. 776-7 and ll. 782-4).

They run thus (I divide into dochmii, or attempts at dochmii):

τόδ' ἐπὶ τῷδε κακὸν	στρ. δ'
ἄκρον ἔλακες	
ἄχος ἐμοὶ στένειν.	
.	
πῶς φῆς; ἄφατον ἄ-	ἀντ. δ'
-φατον ἀναύδητον	
λόγον ἐμοὶ θροεῖς.	

After ἔλακες in the strophe Seidler writes a second ἔλακες. This treatment seems to be correct. If we adopt it, I do not think that we can go on to reject the passage as spurious. There would be an echo of a repetition of a kind very improbable in the work of an interpolator. And this echo is coupled with the echo of ἐμοὶ.

The text as it stands, with Seidler's addition, presents four instances of the phenomenon which is the subject of my inquiry.

E, F, G AND H

In the first dochmius of the fourth strophe the second syllable of the initial iamb is resolved into two shorts, and the first syllable of the final cretic is unresolved: the first dochmius of the fourth antistrophe begins with an irregular spondee, and instead of a cretic we have four short syllables. In the second dochmius of the fourth strophe the cretic is wholly resolved: the second dochmius of the fourth antistrophe has, instead of a cretic, three long syllables.

The dochmii or quasi-dochmii are these:

E AND F

- (a) τόδ' ἐπὶ τῷδε κακὸν
 (b) πῶς φῆς; ἄφατον ἄφατον

G AND H

(α) ἄκρον ἔλακες ἔλακες

(β) ἄφατον ἀναύδητον | λόγον

I would doubtfully suggest :

τόδ' ἐπὶ τῷδε κακὸν

στρ. δ'

ἄκρον ἔλακες ἔλακες

ἄχος ἐμοὶ στένειν.

τί τόδ' ἔφησθ' ; ἄφατον

ἀντ. δ'

ἄφατον ἄρ' ἀν' ἄδυτα

λόγον ἐμοὶ θροεῖς.

The fifth strophe and antistrophe are speeches of Creon
(ll. 789–91 and 796–9) :

ΚΡ. ὅττο τοττο τοῖ· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν

στρ. ε'

ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον (B ἄτεκνον ter) ἔλα-

-βεν ἄ-

-ρα βίοτον, ἐρη-

-μία δ' ὀρφανούς

δόμους οἰκήσω.

ἀν' ὑγρὸν ἂν πταῖην

ἀντ. ε'

αἰθέρα πρόσω γαί-

-ας Ἑλλανίας,

ἀστέρας ἐσπερίους,

οἶον οἶον ἄλ-

-γος ἔπαθον, φίλαι (C omits φίλαι).

This strophe and antistrophe probably have something of Euripides about them ; but on elementary metrical grounds it is apparent that, if they were originally Euripidean, they have been recast so almost entirely that it is quite useless to endeavour to get back to the presumably once existing authentic text.

Editors write ὅτοτοτοῖ for ὅττο τοττο τοῖ. Dindorf inserts ἐν before ἐρημία, and changes πρόσω to πόρσω. Wakefield alters ἂν πταῖην into ἀμπταῖην. Seidler changes ἐσπερίους into ἐσπέρους. Hermann reads for ἔλαβεν in the

strophe ἔλαβεν ἔλαβεν. These are, apparently, steps in the right direction ; but they carry one a very little way.

I will content myself with enumerating the instances of the phenomenon, the permissibility of which in the real classics I dispute, that show themselves in the text as it stands, but with the addition of Hermann's second ἔλαβεν, and of the ἐν before ἐρημία, and with the corrections πόρσω and ἐσπέρους.

They are seven in number.

I, K, L, M, N, O AND P

The first dochmius of the fifth strophe ends in two shorts : the first dochmius of the fifth antistrophe ends in one long. The second dochmius of the fifth strophe ends in a completely resolved cretic : the second dochmius of the fifth antistrophe ends in an entirely unresolved cretic (two examples). The third dochmius of the fifth strophe is imperfect, even with Hermann's emendation, but it begins with a tribrach, and continues with two short syllables : the third dochmius of the fifth antistrophe begins with a spondee and continues with a long syllable (two examples). In the fourth dochmius of the fifth strophe the first syllable of the cretic is resolved : in the fourth dochmius of the fifth antistrophe the first syllable of the cretic is unresolved. In the sixth dochmius of the fifth strophe the initial iamb is unresolved : in the sixth dochmius of the fifth antistrophe the initial iamb is resolved into a tribrach.

The dochmii in question are these :

I

(α) ὀτοτοτοῖ· τὸ δ' ἐμόν

(β) ἀν' ὑγρὸν ἀμπταῖην

K AND L

(α) ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον ἔλα|βεν

(β) αἰθέρα πόρσω γαί|ας.

M AND N

(α) ἔλα|βεν ἔλαβεν ἄ|ρα

(β) γαί|ας Ἑλλανίας

O

(α) ἄ|ρα βίοντον ἐν ἐρη|μία

(β) ἀστέρας ἑσπέ|ρους

P

(α) δό|μους οἰκήσω

(β) ἄλ|γος ἔπαθον, φίλ|αι

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 859-922)

ll. 862-80 are regular Attic anapaests. ll. 859-61 are non-regular Doric anapaests, and so are ll. 881-6. A strophe begins at l. 887.

Under these circumstances, I consider it useless to look for indications of strophe and antistrophe in the groups of ll. 859-61 and 881-6. They are almost certainly Doricized corruptions of what originally formed part of the long series of Attic anapaests.

The strophe extends from l. 887 to l. 896, and the antistrophe from l. 897 to l. 906. Then follows what seems to be an epode, continuing to l. 915. ll. 916-22 have the appearance of being a Doricized corruption of Attic anapaests.

At any rate only one strophe and antistrophe can be detected, which strophe and antistrophe exhibit thirteen instances of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring.

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M AND N

The strophe and antistrophe run :

ἡλθές μοι χρυσῷ χαίταν
μαρμαίρων, εὖτ' ἐς κόλπους
κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον

στρ.

<u>ἀνθίζειν χρυσαντανγῇ.</u>	890
λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφύσας καρποῖς χειρῶν εἰς ἄντρον κοίτας κρανγὰν (one apograph of C inserts μ') ὦ μᾶτέρ μ' αὐδῶσαν θεὸς ὁμεινέτας ἄγες ἀναιδεία	895
<u>Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσω.</u>	
τίκτω δ' ἅ δύστηνός σοι κοῦρον, τὸν φρίκα ματρὸς εἰς εὐνὰν βάλλω τὰν σάν, ἵνα με λέχεσι μελέαν μελέοις	ἀντ. 900
ἐξεύξω τὰν δύστανον. οἴμοι μοι· καὶ νῦν ἔρρει πτανοῖς ἀρπασθεὶς θοίνα παῖς μοι καὶ σὸς τλάμων, σὺ δὲ κιθάρα κλάζεις	905
<u>παιᾶνας μέλπων.</u>	

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I AND K

I call particular attention to this monstrous group of examples of the phenomenon which I am investigating. They are all due to one inversion, and disappear together when one simple remedy is applied.

In the third line of the strophe we have five sets of two short syllables each, viz. the first and second, the third and fourth, the fifth and sixth, the eighth and ninth, and the eleventh and twelfth syllables: the third line of the antistrophe substitutes one long syllable for every one of these five sets of two short syllables. In the fourth line of the strophe all the syllables are long, but it is the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth syllables with which we are concerned: for each of these five long syllables the fourth line of the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

Read in the strophe (transposing ll. 889 and 890):

εὖτ' ἐς κόλπους
ἀνθίζειν χρυσαντανγῇ
κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον.

This transposition removes all metrical difficulty, and adds considerably to the intelligibility of ἀνθίζειν χρυσανταυγῇ by placing those words immediately after ἐς κόλπους. I wonder whether here we have another contamination from a prose "ordo."

The inversion in the MSS. is a significant instance of the ease with which examples of the questionable phenomenon may come into being.

L

In the ninth line of the strophe the first syllable is a long: for that long the ninth line of the antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

I do not understand why ἄγες should be in the imperfect tense: that tense is limited in Greek to certain significations none of which appear to be in place here. I suggest ἄγαγες with the first syllable short.

M AND N

In the tenth line of the strophe the first and second syllables are short, and so are the third and fourth: for each of these sets of two short syllables the tenth line of the antistrophe substitutes one long.

A manuscript note λείπει after κιθάρα of l. 905 suggests forcibly that we have here an eking out of a text more or less mutilated. We may well suppose that Euripides wrote something like

σὺ δὲ κιθάρα παιᾶ-
-νος ἀλαλαγὸν μέλπεις.

Compare the expression ἀλαλαὶ ἰὴ παιήων (*Aves* 1763, etc.).

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1048–1105)

This chorus exhibits two examples of the disputed phenomenon.

A AND B

In the third line of the second strophe the fifth syllable is a long : for this long the third line of the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

In the sixth line of the second strophe the fourth syllable is a long : for this long the sixth line of the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

Here are the passages :

- (α) ll. 1074-9. αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺν μνον
 θεόν, εἰ περὶ καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς
 λαμπάδα θεωρὸν εἰκάδων
 ὄψεται ἐννύχιος (C ἐνύχιος) ἄνπνος ὦν,
 ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς
 ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ.
 (b) ll. 1090-5. ὀρᾶθ' ὅσοι δυσκελάδοισιν (B δυσκελάδοις)
 κατὰ μούσαν ἰόντες αἰεῖδεθ' ὕμνοις (B
 ὕμνοισιν)
 ἀμέτερα λέχεα καὶ γάμους
 Κύπριδος (B Κύπριδας) ἀθεμίτους (C
 ἀθέμιτας) ἀνοσίους,
 ὅσον εὐσεβεῖα (Editors εὐσεβία) κρατοῦμεν
 ἄδικον ἄροτρον ἀνδρῶν.

The meaning of the strophic passage is that the chorus object to the prospect of Ion witnessing the mysteries. But he is not mentioned either by name or by any periphrasis. Consequently ὄψεται in l. 1077 is left without an expressed subject. It is clear that a classical Greek would have taken θεός understood from θεόν in l. 1075, as the nominative to the verb, and would have stood aghast at the consequential sense.

We obviously must read :

εἰ παρὰ καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς
 λαμπάδα θεωρὸν ὅδ' εἰκάδων
 ὄψεται ἐννυχίος ἄνπμος ὦν.

That involves a change in the antistrophe, viz. :

ἀμέτερ' ἐλέγχεα καὶ γάμους.

This is a great improvement. In any case λέχεια and γάμους are synonyms; but, while γάμους has ἀνοσίους etc. to qualify it, λέχεια has no balancing qualification. Or, if we take ἀνοσίους etc. as qualifying the whole composite phrase λέχεια καὶ γάμους, then the bald tautology of λέχεια καὶ γάμους in close combination is a serious blemish. ἐλέγχεια does away with all difficulties of this kind, and is a word of recognized applicability in the sense required.

The presence of ἄροτρον in l. 1095 inclines me to suppose that λέχεια is not a mere error for ἐλέγχεια, but an instance of substitution by some copyist of a less delicate for a more delicate word.

ἄροτρον itself is an instance of the same phenomenon; but the expression is so impossible that editors recognize that Euripides did not write ἄροτρον. They read ἄροτον, which they variously expound as signifying the thing begotten or the act of begetting. The latter sense may be dismissed at once as making little better than nonsense in the context: the former sense is singularly out of place seeing that men are mentioned in the passage not in their capacity as begotten but as begetters.

Therefore I cannot think that ἄροτον is a possible correction.

My own belief is that ἄροτρον is nothing else than a modification of ἄρθρον (**ΑΡΘΡΟΝ, ΑΡΟΤΡΟΝ**), which word of course could not establish a position for itself in a tragic context of this character, and that ἄρθρον in its turn is an alteration of an original ἀρθμὸν, 'love' or 'union.' ἄδικον ἀρθμὸν ἀνδρῶν seems to me a sonorous and suitable expression.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1229–1243)

The scheme of this chorus, which is immediately followed by a series of regular anapaests, is very simple, viz.:

$$\begin{array}{l} \sigma\rho. \alpha' \\ \sigma\rho. \beta' \\ \alpha\nu\tau. \beta' \\ \alpha\nu\tau. \alpha' \end{array} \bigg)$$

The first strophe consists of ll. 1229–30, and its anti-strophe of ll. 1242–3.

The portion of the chorus intermediate between this strophe and antistrophe consists of a second strophe, containing ll. 1231-4, and of a second antistrophe containing ll. 1238-41. ll. 1235-7 seem to be an interpolation.

The whole chorus is excessively corrupt. The sense of the second antistrophe runs on into the first antistrophe, which fact is a proof of grave depravation. There is no strict correspondence anywhere, except as between the first strophe and antistrophe, and even there we find an instance of the phenomenon I am investigating—an instance for which it is not possible, so far as I can see, to suggest a reasonable remedy.

I am content to take this chorus as so far removed from the state in which Euripides left it, as not to afford sufficient basis for even the most tentative emendation. The dochmiac metre of the second strophe and antistrophe has gone to pieces in a way and to an extent that, as far as I have observed, are almost, if not quite, without parallel.

A

In the second line of the first strophe, the second and third syllables are short: in the second line of the first antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long. It would be possible to describe the phenomenon in language such as to shift it to the beginning of the two lines; but earlier in my notes on this play I have indicated my objection to such a course. It is a peculiar fact that the *Ion* presents several instances in which the describer of the phenomenon I am investigating is put to his election as to the method of description. I do not fully grasp the bearings of this fact; but it certainly serves to confirm me in a general impression which I have formed, to the effect that there has been metrical tampering with the text of the *Ion* in directions somewhat different from those with which we are familiar in the case of the other plays of Euripides. Together with this I would draw attention to the fact that I am doubtful whether in any other play we have the same probable, though necessarily uncertain, indications of contamination from a prose *ordo verborum*.

I suspect that at some very remote period the *Ion* must have been, as the *Hecuba* was at all times, used as a favourite elementary schoolbook.

The first strophe and antistrophe are these :

- (α) ll. 1229-30. οὐκ ἔστ' οὐκ ἔστιν θανάτου
 παρατροπὰ μελέα μοι
 (β) ll. 1242-3. ὠκίσταν χαλὰν ἐπιβᾶσ',
 ἢ πρύμνας ἐπὶ ναῶν ;

B, C, D, E, F, G AND H

The second strophe and antistrophe are as follows :

- (α) ll. 1231-4. φανερά γὰρ φανερά τάδ' ἤδη στρ. β'
 σπονδὰς ἐκ Διονύσου
 βοτρύων θοᾶς ἐχίδνας
 σταγόσι μινυμένας φόνῳ.
 (β) ll. 1238-41. τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσσαν ἦ αντ. β'
 χθονὸς ὑπὸ σκοτίων μυχῶν
 πορευθῶ, θανάτου λεύσιμον ἄταν
 ἀποφείγουσα, τεθρίππων.

B

In the first strophic dochmius the last syllable of the final cretic is resolved : the first antistrophic dochmius will not scan, but, with slight emendation, it can be presented so as to scan, but with the last syllable of the final cretic unresolved.

The dochmii are :

- (α) φανερά γὰρ φανερά
 (β) τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσ|σαν

for which we may read :

τίνα φυγὰν πτεροῦσ|σαν

C

The second strophic dochmius presents three longs instead of a cretic : the first of these three longs is replaced in the second antistrophic dochmius by two shorts.

The dochmii are :

(α) τὰδ' ἤδη σπονδάς

(β) πτερόεσσαν ἢ χθονὸς ὑπὸ | σκοτίων

D

The third strophic dochmius appears in the disguise of a dactyl and a spondee : the third antistrophic dochmius masquerades as two short syllables plus a cretic, but may be emended into an iamb plus a cretic, so that in that case the two short syllables of the strophic dactyl would be answered by the long syllable of the antistrophic iamb.

The pseudo-dochmii are these :

(α) ἐκ Διονύσου

(β) σκοτίων μυχῶν

which may be emended into :

σκοτεινῶν μυχῶν.

E AND F

The fifth strophic dochmius begins with an iamb, and ends in a cretic with its last syllable resolved : the fifth antistrophic dochmius assumes the shape of a dactyl and a spondee, so that the long syllable of the strophic iamb is answered by the two short syllables of the antistrophic dactyl, and the two short syllables resulting from the resolution of the strophic cretic can, in some sense, be said to be answered by the second long syllable of the antistrophic spondee.

The dochmius and pseudo-dochmius are these :

(α) ἐχίδνας σταγόσι

(β) λεύσιμον ἄταν

G AND H

The sixth strophic dochmius is a dactyl plus a cretic : the sixth antistrophic dochmius appears as an anapaest plus a cretic, so that the initial long syllable of the strophic dactyl is answered by the two short syllables of the anti-

strophic anapaest, and the two short syllables of the strophic dactyl by the long syllable of the antistrophic anapaest. The antistrophe as it stands continues with two extravagant longs.

The dochmius and pseudo-dochmius are these :

- (α) μυγνυμένας φόνω
 (β) ἀποφεύγουσα, τεθρίππων

I think the reader will agree with me that it would be a waste of time to pause any longer over this chorus.

EIGHTH CHORUS (ll. 1441–1509)

The passage consists of a dialogue between Creusa and Ion. Creusa, in l. 1441, having been previously speaking in tragic trimeters, breaks off a senarius in the middle of the third foot, and concludes the line with a Doric dochmius (of faulty construction). All her remarks (which end with l. 1509) are in lyrical, and largely in more or less dochmiac, metre. Ion, on the other hand, sticks to the Attic dialect, and delivers himself throughout in whole senarii, or in lines the scansion of which is that of portions of senarii, except that once (l. 1501) he utters, in the Attic dialect, be it observed, a line consisting of a cretic, a long syllable, and a dochmius.

The statement of these facts is sufficient to show that the passage, as we have it, has been altered very materially, though it is possible that in a sense the alteration is superficial, from the Euripidean original.

But I am not disposed to disagree with Hermann's opinion that the dialogue is one of real dramatic merit.

It does not appear possible to disentangle more than one strophe and antistrophe. The speech of Creusa which extends from l. 1458 to l. 1461 is a strophe, and the speech of Creusa which extends from l. 1463 to l. 1467 is its antistrophe. There is a great deal of corruption of a kind affecting correspondence, and, in particular, a line has either been omitted in the strophe or else interpolated in the antistrophe—more probably the latter.

The strophe and antistrophe run :

τέκνον, οὐκ ἀδάκρυτος ἐκλοχεύη,	στρ.
γούois δὲ ματρὸς ἐκ χερῶν ὀρίζη·	
νῦν δὲ γενειάσιν παρὰ σέθεν πνέω	1460
μακαριωτάτας τυχοῦσ' ἡδονᾶς.	
.	
ἄπαιδες οὐκέτ' ἐσμέν οὐδ' ἄτεκνοι·	αντ.
δῶμα δ' ἐστιοῦται, τάδε δ' ἔχει τυράννους·	
ἀνηβᾷ δ' Ἐρεχθεύς,	1465
ὃ τε γηγενέτας δόμος οὐκέτι νύκτας δέρκεται,	
ἄλιον δ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν.	

The strophe does not appear to be corrupt, except as regards its first line. The four dochmii at the end of the strophe seem to be absolutely intact.

Editors, not recognizing the strophic-antistrophic arrangement, have made the first line of the strophe into two dochmii by transferring τέκνον from the beginning to the end of the line. This reconstitution is impossible; but the text supplies no basis on which to build a sound emendation.

In the antistrophe, the second line is obviously corrupt; and Hermann reads δῶμ' ἐστιοῦται, while Reiske has with great perspicacity changed τάδε into γᾶ. Paley's note on this emendation is excellent. He writes: "When γᾶ δὲ was written (as was sometimes done) without the elision, the next transcriber mistook Γ for Τ, and added δ' on account of the hiatus." I would only add that the uncial corruption in question probably occurred at about the date of the writing of the Herodes papyrus, when the practice of paying no graphical attention to elisions seems to have attained its zenith. I strongly suspect that the practice became common under Latin influence. In Latin it is extremely doubtful whether elision in the strict sense existed. I am not aware of any evidence that points to anything more than a slurring over of vowels *in hiatus*. I even doubt whether, if Latin quantitative poetry had not developed itself under Greek influence, we should have had in Latin more or less the same metrical rule of elision as in Greek. Unfortunately

the whole problem of Saturnian verse is enveloped in so much obscurity that it is impossible, so far, at least, as I know, to say in what manner the Camena, in the absence of the Muse, dealt with hiatus. But in any case it is very difficult to imagine that the Greek genius, unaffected by external influences, would ever, except sporadically, have tolerated so direct a subversion of the fundamental principles of the language as is involved in the graphical expression of elided syllables. Very much akin to this question is the dispute whether or no the paroxytone accentuation of late Greek scazons is an adaptation from the Latin. I confess myself in great doubt on this point. It is true that scazons exhibit the best known and, I think, the earliest instances of the accentuation in question. But a glance at the *Christus Patiens*, or at the iambics of Tzetzes, or at the works of any one of a dozen other fairly reputable writers, will show that the rule applied to senarii as well as to scazons. Now the laws of Latin accentuation are such that only disyllables ending a senarius are paroxytone. Words of a greater length are proparoxytone. Consequently we have either to suppose that Latin first affected scazons, and that subsequently Greek scazons affected Greek senarii (which is a rather complicated supposition), or else to suppose that senarii and scazons alike developed in Greek the paroxytone accentuation without the effect of Latin influence.

The third line of the antistrophe ἀνηβᾶ δ' Ἐρχθεύς is an interpolation, unless a line has been lost from the strophe.

In the fourth line of the strophe the ὃ τε at the beginning has clearly to be excised—an excision which improves the style. At the end of that line, apart from other defects (Markland changes *νύκτας* to *νύκτα*), the last syllable of the cretic *δέρκεται* stands *in hiatus*. Corruption has gone too far for the application of scientific emendation. As a mere guess (but still as one guess out of not a very great number of metrically possible guesses) I propose:

γηγενέτας δόμος δέδορκεν τὸ φῶς,
ἁελίου τ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν.

We have seen elsewhere that it is a feature of Euripides to shorten the *a* in such words as *ἄελιος*. Hermann gives *ἄελιον*.

Having now said all that I wish to say about this chorus, so that there is no further need for me to discuss in detail the instances of the phenomenon I am investigating, I will proceed to enumerate these instances, which are only three in number.

A

In the second line of the strophe (an iambic trimeter catalectic) the third foot is an iamb: in the second line of the antistrophe, also an iambic trimeter catalectic, the third foot is a dactyl.

The lines are:

- (a) l. 1459. γόοις δὲ ματρὸς ἐκ χερῶν ὀρίζη
 (b) l. 1464. δῶμα δ' ἐστιοῦται, τάδε δ' ἔχει τυράννους

B

In the third line of the strophe the first dochmius begins with a long syllable: in the fourth line of the antistrophe, which answers to the third of the strophe, correspondence is gravely obscured, but at least a semblance of the phenomenon is presented owing to the fact that the antistrophic line begins with two shorts.

These are the lines:

- (a) l. 1460. νῦν δὲ γενειάσιν παρὰ σέθεν πνέω
 (b) l. 1466. ὃ τε γηγενέτας δόμος οὐκέτι νύκτα

C

In the last line of the strophe the first dochmius is of the regular form $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$: in the third line of the antistrophe the first dochmius is of the impossible form $-\cup-\cup-$.

The lines run:

- (a) l. 1461. μακαριωτάτας τυχοῦς' ἡδονᾶς
 (b) l. 1467. ἁλίου δ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν

SUMMARY

The *Ion* exhibits fifty-two instances of the phenomenon under discussion, and three other examples arise from emendation. Of the fifty-two, two are obviously corrupt: two sets of five present themselves within the limits of a single line each: one set of three does the same: so do nine sets of two. The nineteen that remain over and the three that result from emendation cannot be regarded very seriously. There is evidently a great deal of non-original work in the *Ion*.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*). As one of the most convenient and accessible editions of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* is that of Mr. E. B. England, I would warn scholars who do not specialize in manuscripts against Mr. England's statement that Codex Laurentianus is "the C of Kirchhoff and v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf." *C* is different from *C*, and is in fact Codex Havniensis, which does not contain the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 123-235)

This parodos would naturally either consist throughout of regular anapaests, or at least begin with a considerable number of regular anapaests followed by a choral ode. As a matter of fact we are confronted with regular anapaestic passages mixed up with other passages which admit in a way of anapaestic scansion, but in which the caesura is constantly neglected, and of which the cadence is almost entirely spondaic. Moreover in the lines of the latter class the number of feet is inconstant, and catalexis is frequent.

The difficulty is to know what to make of the passages that appear in this irregular metre. Are they variations from the ordinary anapaestic norm, or are they true lyrics, or are they corruptions, and if so, of what?

An answer to these questions should be sought, if we are to endeavour to discover whether the parodos is entirely a parodos, or whether it may not on the contrary include stasima, and therefore (possibly, to say the least) one or more strophes and antistrophes.

I may say at the outset that I have very little confidence in the integrity of the text of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

Traces of the accentual political metre are to be found in the existing texts of several classical Greek writers. Now it is not impossible, indeed it is probable, that now and then a classical writer employing a quantitative metre of the same number of syllables as those of the accentual political metre should have accidentally produced a line that would scan accentually as well as quantitatively. As a matter of fact, I find that of the fifty-two complete trochaic tetrameters of Archilochus printed by Bergk, no less than ten will scan as *versus politici*, though only about half that number are *versus politici* of sufficient strictness or elegance to conform to the canons of such writers as John Tzetzes. Seven of the ten are isolated; but in the 74th Fragment (a piece of nine lines) the third line is a *versus politicus* of the most approved mediaeval type, and has on either side of it a rather bad *versus politicus*. Here are the first four lines of the Fragment:

χρημάτων ἀελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον
οὐδὲ θαυμάσιον, ἐπειδὴ Ζεὺς πατήρ Ὀλυμπίων
ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἔθηκε νύκτ' ἀποκρύψας φάος
ἡλίου λάμποντος· ὕγρον δ' ἦλθ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους δέος.

The first line is not a *versus politicus* at all. The second line is a *versus politicus* of a kind; but it admits two separate licences. First, the *ιον* of *θαυμάσιον* is run into one syllable: this licence is contrary to the practice of Tzetzes, but is permitted by a host of less careful writers. Secondly, in the second accentual iamb (the first accentual

iamb is perfectly permissibly replaced by an accentual trochee) of the second part of the line we have, standing side by side, two accents, namely, the accent on the last syllable of *πατήρ* and the subordinate accent on the first syllable of *Ὀλυμπίων*: the result would more naturally be viewed as a trochee than as an iamb. The iambic scansion under such circumstances is possible, but distinctly inelegant. A line which combines both these licences is a specimen of a very lax kind of political metre. The third line, on the other hand, is perfect in every way, nor would Tzetzes himself have been ashamed to have written it. The fourth line would be unimpeachable, but for the fact that it admits the very violent licence of an elision at the point of caesura.

Thus we see that even a sequence of *versus politici* of a sort may occur in a writer of classical verse, not by design but by accident. But when anything of this kind does occur, there must have been a strong temptation to mediaeval copyists to extend the accentual metre to the context. In my remarks on the last Isthmian Ode of Pindar I have shown reason for believing that the occurrence in one place of a line that will scan accentually as a slightly varied form of the *versus politicus*, has caused accentual metre to be introduced into the corresponding portions of the other strophes of the ode.

It is well known that ll. 154 and 155 of the *Persae* of Aeschylus will scan not only as quantitative trochaic tetrameters, but also as *versus politici* of the strictest type. It does not appear to have been generally noticed that l. 156 will also scan as a *versus politicus*, though not as a *versus politicus* conforming to the rules of John Tzetzes, or to have been observed at all that l. 157 will scan according to the strictest accentual rules, if only, by the addition of one letter, we substitute a mediaeval for a classical termination.

This is the passage :

ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη,
 μήτηρ ἡ Ξέρξου γεραιά, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι,
 θεοῦ μὲν εὐνήτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφους,
 εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

If in l. 156 we scan *θεοῦ* each time that it occurs as one syllable (which is contrary to the stricter political practice), we have a *versus politicus*. If in l. 157 we read *μεθεστήκει* for *μεθέστηκε*, we have another *versus politicus*.

From these facts (strange though they are) I do not necessarily infer corruption in our existing text. I mention them in order to proceed to something more important.

We have seen that l. 156, though a *versus politicus*, is not a *versus politicus* of a kind that John Tzetzes approved. It is Tzetzes' constant habit in the Chiliads to quote lines from the ancient poets, and to quote them, unaltered, in their original metres. Thus in the Seventh Chiliad (*History* 135) he quotes Homer. He writes :

Πρίαμος, ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος ἐν Ἰλιάδι γράφει
τέκνα πεντήκοντα γεννᾶ, ἐννέα μὲν καὶ δέκα
ἐκ τῆς Ἑκάβης τῆς αὐτοῦ συζύγου βασιλίδος·
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔσχε παλλακῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτός που λέγει
ἐννέα καὶ δέκα μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες.

But in the very next *History* (Chiliad VII., *History* 136) he has the following :

Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Πέρσαι γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεοῦσιν,
ὡς καὶ Αἰσχύλος δρᾶματι Πέρσαις δεικνύει τοῦτο.
Ἄτοσσαν θέλων γὰρ εἰπεῖν σύζυγον βασιλέως,

360. μητέρα βασιλέως τε ὁμοίως, εἶπεν οὕτω·

θεοῦ Περσῶν εὐνέτειρα, θεοῦ τε μήτηρ ἔφυσ.

That is to say, he presents l. 156 of the *Persae*, as a direct quotation, in a form which is agreeable to his own standard of the *versus politicus*, and that in spite of the fact that it is not his practice to tamper in any way with the quantitative lines which he quotes in his accentual writings. Furthermore, the line, as he quotes it, will scan only as a *versus politicus* and not as a quantitative trochaic tetrameter.

I can only conclude that Tzetzes either had before him a version of the *Persae* in which this particular line at

any rate had been translated into a *versus politicus* of the strictest type, or else himself deliberately emended the text to the destruction of quantitative metre.

What was done in one case may have been done in a hundred cases. At any rate I have proved the fact that one *versus politicus* once invaded a classical play.

I seem to see indications in several of the dramas of Euripides that the invasion was more general. It must be remembered that, quite apart from the loop-hole offered by the existence in the ancient poets of a certain number of lines that will accidentally scan accentually, the political metre was the natural vehicle in the Middle Ages in which to convey meaning of a poetical nature. If in those days they paraphrased Euripides at all, it was a question of paraphrasing him either in prose or in *versus politici*. Therefore I make certain that some paraphrases in the political metre came into existence; and, if they existed, there must have been a danger that they might occasionally replace the text.

A paraphrase of one play of Euripides is known to be extant (by the side of the text) in a manuscript which certainly contains *adscripta* in the political metre. The manuscript is not easy of access, and I am not at present in a position to state whether or no the paraphrase itself is written in *versus politici*. But I hope, if fortune favours me, to be able to embody in an appendix information on the subject.

The view has been put forward that classical writers occasionally composed of set purpose in *versus politici*. I should not mention this untenable contention but for the fact that it was upheld by that brilliant scholar, Martin Geldart. Geldart's generous enthusiasm in the cause of modern Greek sometimes overpowered his judgement. The reader of his pages should bear in mind that his quotations from Aristophanes are not consecutive. The three lines which he cites from the Grammarians are from the pen of Euphoriion of Chersonese (*circa* 200 B.C.). It is not clear that even these are consecutive; and only two of them will scan politically. They are in the Priapean metre. Geldart was wrong in supposing that the Grammarians,

when they call them *προσφδικοί*, mean that they are "accentual." The word *προσφδικός* does not possess that signification, so far as I can discover. But in any case *προσφδικοί* is here nothing more than a mediaeval way of writing *προσοδικοί*. Priapean verse was appropriate to processional litanies. The confusion of writing is constant.

The Hypothesis to the *Iphigenia in Tauris* contains one absolutely perfect *versus politicus*:

ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Ταύροις.

The rest of the Hypothesis seems to me to be made up of mutilated *versus politici*, with perhaps some explanatory additions.

If the Hypothesis is really a somewhat depraved version of an early mediaeval metrical Hypothesis in the political scansion, there is good ground for inquiry whether that Hypothesis was not followed by a paraphrase of the play itself in the same scansion, or at least in cognate scansions. In this particular case a special reason existed to tempt the mediaeval scholar to make such a paraphrase. The play opens with what is almost a *versus politicus*:

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πῖσαν μολὼν θοαῖσιν.

The second half,

Πῖσαν μολὼν θοαῖσιν,

is the second half of a *versus politicus* of the most rigorous form. The first half,

Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς,

would require to be accented

Πέλοψ ὁ Τανταλείος εἰς

in order to conform to rule.

Now it is obvious, putting accents for the moment on one side, that an entirely spondaic (theoretically anapaestic) dimeter acatalectic is identical in number of syllables with the first half, and that an entirely spondaic (theoretically anapaestic) dimeter catalectic is identical in number of syllables with the second half, of a *versus politicus* of the most ordinary type.

The chorus with which we are dealing contains twenty-four lines of the former, and twenty-five of the latter, scansion. Thus, out of 113 lines, forty-nine, or very little less than one-half, are of a kind calculated to awaken inquiry as to the possibility of contamination from a mediaeval source.

Of the twenty-four lines which correspond in length to the first half of the *versus politicus*, three (in the MSS., but really six) have also the complete political accentuation. This proportion is too low to allow us to base an argument upon it. The same can hardly be said of the lines which correspond in length to the last half of the *versus politicus*. Eleven out of the twenty-five, or 44 per cent, possess the full political accentuation.

I conclude tentatively and as a working hypothesis that a paraphrase in the political metre has been in part substituted for the original text of this chorus, and that the paraphrase has in its turn been largely modified so as to present a semblance of Euripidean scansion.

I imagine that many scholars must have felt that the chorus as it stands presents a metrical *tout ensemble* singularly unlike that of Euripidean choruses in general.

The three lines which conform completely to the requirements of the first half of a *versus politicus* are these :

- (a) l. 125. πέτρας Εὐξείνου ναίοντες
- (b) l. 205. καὶ νυκτὸς κείνας· ἐξ ἀρχᾶς
- (c) l. 216. νύμφαιόν, μ' οἶμοι, δύσσυμφον

But, in addition to these three instances, there are three others in which almost absolutely certain emendation of the MSS. by editors who did not dream of the presence of mediaeval metre has restored the political scansion. They are these :

- (d) l. 145. ἔγκειμαι, τᾶς οὐκ εὐμούσου
Wecklein : ἔγκειμαι, τὰν οὐκ εὐμουσον
- (e) l. 172. δέξαι δ'· οὐ γὰρ πάρος τύμβου σοι
Heath : δέξαι δ'· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τύμβον σοι
- (f) l. 225. αἰμορρᾶντων δυσφόρμιγγα
Monk : αἰμόρραντον δυσφόρμιγγα

The eleven lines which fully correspond to the requirements of the second half of the *versus politicus* are the following :

- (a) l. 128. πρὸς σὰν αὐλάν, εὐστύλων
- (b) l. 131. κληδούχου δούλα πέμπω
- (c) l. 136. πατρώων οἴκων ἔδρας
- (d) l. 148. αἶ μοι συμβαίνουσ' ἄται
- (e) l. 155. φεῦ φεῦ τῶν Ἄργει μόχθων
- (f) l. 177. κείμει σφαχθεῖς ἅ τλάμων
- (g) l. 181. δεσποῖνα τ' ἐξαυδάσω (so *C* and *B*: but a corrector of *C* reads δεσποῖνα γ', and a corrector of *B* δεσποῖν': Weil proposes δέσποινα ἀντεξαυδάσω)
- (h) l. 188. οἶμοι πατρώων οἴκων
- (i) l. 191. μόχθος δ' ἐκ μόχθων ἄσσει
- (k) l. 210. Λήδας ἅ τλάμων κούρα
- (l) l. 219. δυσχόρτους οἴκους ναίω

But the strongest evidence arises from a consideration of ll. 205-7 in combination. These run in the MSS. :

καὶ νυκτὸς κείνας· ἐξορχᾶς (a corrector of *C* ἐξ ἀρχᾶς)
 λοχείαν (Hermann λόχαι) στερῶν παιδείαν
 Μοῖραι συντείνουσι θεαί.

Is it possible to deny that we have here one and a half *versus politici*? They are palpable :

καὶ νυκτὸς κείνας· ἐξ ἀρχᾶς λόχαι στερῶν παιδείαν
 Μοῖραι συντείνουσι θεαί.

The scansion of λόχαι as a disyllable is characteristic of not quite the very strictest class of the *versus politicus*. Compare Theodore Ptochoprodromos *ad Manuel Comnenum*, i. 88 :

ὁποῦ με παρεδώκασιν εἰς τὸ σκολίον ἐμέναν.

Or compare the same work, ii. 456 :

πάτερ, ῥογέει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅλα τὰ μοναστήρια.

It seems to me that ll. 205-7 convert the working hypothesis into something far more assured. The lines

that follow them also have been but slightly distorted out of political form, though exact reconstitution might prove extremely difficult, if not impossible.

I therefore deliberately state that there is evidence, and evidence strong enough to persuade me personally, to the effect that a very considerable portion of the existing chorus is nothing more nor less than a distortion in the direction of classical metre of a series of lines, written presumably somewhere about the twelfth century, in the political measure. It is natural to suppose that some one in the entourage of John Tzetzes is the author of the verses. The master himself wrote somewhat more strictly.

That they are really a paraphrase of the original Euripidean chorus, and not an original composition designed to fill up a lacuna, seems to be sufficiently established by l. 179 :

ἀντιψάλμους ᾠδὰς ὕμνον τ',

in the light of Hesychius' words ἀντιψάλμους· ἀντιστρόφους. Εὐριπίδης Ἰφιγενείᾳ τῇ ἐν Ταύροις.

As *C* and *B* are both of the fourteenth century, there was plenty of time, supposing that Tzetzes caused the paraphrase to be written, for it to be disguised under a semi-classical veil in the 200 years or so that intervened.

What then are we to say as to the metre of the Euripidean original? I can discover no evidence in favour of any other metre than the anapaestic, except for the fact of repeated Doric terminations. Apart from that everything points to a normal and regular series of anapaests. If the paraphrast, or rather parametrist, had been dealing with true lyrics, it would have been impossible for him, without completely abandoning the words of the original, to produce so vast a number of successive spondees. I am strongly of opinion that the Doricisms were introduced by the person or persons who, presumably in or about the thirteenth century, twisted the paraphrase into quantitative metre. As the paraphrase was itself (in my view) a mutilation of anapaests, a metre intended to be anapaestic could without much difficulty be given

to it. But as the result most manifestly violated anapaestic law at every turn, it was a measure of considerable wisdom to label the lines as lyric by the use of the Doric dialect.

I conclude from all this that the chorus is not a chorus at all in the lyric sense, that therefore it never contained any strophe or antistrophe, and that in consequence it at no time afforded opportunity for the phenomenon which is the subject of my investigation.

I feel that I have touched incidentally a very important question. It would be out of place for me to undertake a longer argument on this chorus than is called for by its somewhat slight connexion with my subject matter. But the next chorus raises the same question over again.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 392-455)

(apparently in reality the first lyric chorus)

This chorus consists of two strophes and antistrophes, and after it come a set of regular anapaests.

This chorus presents no example of the phenomenon I am discussing. But I gravely doubt whether this fact is evidence relevant to the question of Euripidean usage. I most strongly suspect that it is only admissible as proof of the theory and practice of some unknown but extremely competent metrician of about the thirteenth century.

The whole chorus abounds in indications that it is merely an adaptation, though an admirably executed adaptation, to quantitative laws of a political version of the Euripidean original.

The chorus presents no example of the phenomenon that I am investigating. Consequently it would not be ancillary to the purpose of this book for me to enter at large on a discussion of the evidence pointing to the existence of *versus politici*.

I will only give the first strophe as it stands in the MSS., and then attempt a reconstruction of it in the political metre. No doubt my reconstruction will be at many points erroneous. But still the very possibility of

its production is a matter not to be neglected by the student.

The strophe runs :

κύνειαι κύνειαι σύνοδοι θαλάσσης,
 ἦν οἷστρος ὁ πετόμενος (a corrector of C ποτώ-
 μενος) Ἀργόθεν
 Εὐξεινον (a corrector of L εὐξενον) ἐπ' οἶδμα
 διεπέρασεν (a corrector of C adds ποτέ) 395
 Ἀσιήτιδα γαῖαν
 Εὐρώπας διαμήψας.
 τίνες ποτ' ἄρα (so C: B ἄρα) τὸν εὐνδρον δονα-
 κόχλοον (so C: B and a corrector of C
 δονακόχλοα)
 λιπόντες Εὐρώταν 400
 ἥ ρεύματα σεμνὰ Δίρκας
 ἔβασαν ἔβασαν ἄμικτον αἶαν, ἔνθα κούρα
 διατέγγει
 βωμοὺς καὶ περικλίας 405
 ναοῦ (so B: C να: a corrector of C ναῶν) αἶμα
 βρότειον ;

I propose to read :

κύνειαι κύνειαι σύνοδοι τῆς θαλάσσης,
 ἦν οἷστρος ὁ πετόμενος Ἀργόθεν Εὐξεινὸν γε
 ἐπ' οἶδμα διεπέρασεν Ἰώ, τὴν διὰν πόρτιν,
 εἰς γαῖαν Ἀσιήτιδα Εὐρώπας διαμήψας.
 εὐνδρον δονακόχλοον Εὐρώταν προλιπόντες
 ἥ ρεύματα σεμνότατα τίνες ποτ' ἄρα Δίρκης
 ἔβησαν ἄμικτον εἰς γῆν, ἥ κόρη διὰ τέγγει
 βωμοὺς καὶ περικλίας νεῶς αἵματι βροτείῳ ;

Hermann first corrected ἦν to ἦν'. For κούρα διατέγγει Elmsley read κούρα διὰ τέγγει, Dindorf κούρα διὰ τέγγει.

Apart from the transposition of the words τίνες ποτ' ἄρα, there is no point whatever in the whole strophe where the words of the MSS. do not fall, with very minute changes, quite readily into the political metre, except for the fact that where I have written Ἰὼ τὴν διὰν πόρτιν, the second half of a *versus politicus* is wholly wanting. But at this very point there is also wanting

an object to the verb *διεπέρασεν*, and that object must be Io or some description of Io, or both. It seems to me that the coincidence of a gap in sense and of a gap in the political metre is strongly confirmatory of my views.

I am of course of opinion that the strophes and antistrophes have been made to correspond by the reconstructor of quantitative metre: and this is where I consider that his skill is shown.

But I have perhaps lingered too long, considering my subject matter, over a chorus, which, though it presents a fascinating problem, is of but little service to my main argument.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 643-657)

(really, it seems, the second chorus)

This chorus begins with a strophe consisting of three dochmii followed by a clausula of four short and three long syllables: then comes a tragic trimeter. There succeeds an antistrophe, of which precisely the same is true; but the antistrophe presents one example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

The example consists in the fact that in the first line in the strophe the first dochmius is of the type *υ υ υ - υ -*, but that in the antistrophe it is of the type *υ υ υ - υ υ υ*: in the antistrophe the initial syllable of the next dochmius is lacking.

Here are the strophe and antistrophe:

- (α) ll. 643-6. XO. κατολοφύρομαι σὲ τὸν χερνίβων στρ.
 ^{ῥανίσι * * *}
 μελόμενον αἵμακταῖς. 645
 OP. οἶκτος γὰρ οὐ ταῦτ', ἀλλὰ
 χαίρετ', ὦ ξένοι.
 (β) ll. 647-50. XO. σὲ δὲ τύχας μάκαρος, ὦ νεανία, ἀντ.
 σεβόμεθ', εἰς πάτραν
 ὅτι ποτ' ἐπεμβάσει.
 ΠΤ. ἄζηλά τοι φίλοισι, θνησκότων
 φίλων. 650

For *κατολοφύρομαι* in l. 643 Weil suggests *κατολοφυ-*

ρόμεθα because of the metre of the antistrophe; and this I adopt, together with Schoene's emendation of l. 647:

σὲ δὲ τύχας, μακάριος ὦ νεανία.

There is an alternative method of securing harmony. We may keep κατολοφύρομαι in the strophe, and in the antistrophe read with Kirchhoff:

σὲ δὲ τύχας μακαίρας, ὦ νεανία.

This I reject, not only because it produces a second dochmius of the impossible form ---υ-, but also because it leaves κατολοφύρομαι in the singular to be echoed in sense by σεβόμεθ' in the plural. No doubt, even when an individual is speaking in a non-representative capacity, first persons of the singular and of the plural often alternate in close proximity; and when, as here, either the whole chorus or their responsible spokeswoman is the utterer of the lines, fluctuation of number becomes peculiarly easy. But I set against this the still stronger argument that responsion of antistrophe to strophe is carried habitually far beyond the sphere of metre, or indeed of any precise rules. Therefore the singular in the strophe, mis-echoed by the plural in the antistrophe, strikes my ear as an offence, slight indeed but perceptible, against the spirit of lyrical composition.

In l. 644 Elmsley excellently fills the obvious lacuna with the word βαρβάρων. I am inclined to suggest that its omission may well be a case of haplography due to the previous -βων ῥαν-.

In l. 649 Elmsley reads πόδ' for ποτ'.

Up to this point there appears to be no trace of the intrusion of *versus politici*.

The chorus continues thus:

(According to *C* and *B*, Pylades is still speaking, but a corrector of *C* at this point inserts

XO.) ὦ σχέτλιοι πομπαί.

φεῦ φεῦ, διόλλυσαι.

XO. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ.

πότερος ὁ μέλλων;

ἔτι γὰρ ἀμφίφλογα (a corrector of *B* reads
 ἀμφίλογα) 655
 δίδυμα μέμνη (a corrector of *C* reads μέμονε) φρήν,
 σὲ πάρος ἢ σ' ἀναστενάξω γόοις.

Various re-arrangements of these lines have been proposed. Perhaps the most successful is that of Hermann, who assigns l. 651 to one half of the chorus, and l. 652 to the other half. He then gives the first *αἰαῖ* to the first half of the chorus, and the other *αἰαῖ* to the other half. The remaining lines he assigns to the whole chorus.

In that case it would seem that l. 651 is strophe *β'*, l. 652 antistrophe *β'*, the first *αἰαῖ* of l. 653 strophe *γ'*, and other *αἰαῖ* antistrophe *γ'*. It may seem extraordinary to have a strophe and antistrophe of two syllables each; but it must be remembered that very little is known as to the rules of hemichoric correspondence, it being perfectly possible (at least in certain styles of hemichoric writing) that any remark, however short, of one half of the chorus has to be antistrophically answered by a metrically equivalent remark by the other half.

Wecklein has a different arrangement; but in any case ll. 654 onwards have to be taken, as the text stands, either as an epode or as part of an epode. I know of no theoretical reason why an epode should not be dochmiac; but as a matter of fact the tragedians seem to confine epodes, as far as can be judged, to the looser as distinguished from the stricter metres. I am therefore tempted to assume considerable corruption.

l. 654,

πότερος ὁ μέλλων;

is utterly meaningless, and various emendations that have been attempted are far from convincing.

It seems to me that ὁ μέλλων extremely probably conceals ἄμιλλαν. If so, ἄμιλλαν may very well be a right interlineated correction, mistaken for part of an omitted line, of the ἀμφίφλογα or ἀμφίλογα of l. 655. If that be the case, πότερον is very possibly a correction, or the corruption of a correction, of ἔτι γὰρ.

On the whole I suggest very tentatively two tragic senarii (Doricized when they were taken for dochmiacs) :

ἄπορον ἄμιλλαν δίδυμ' ἐμὴ μέμηλε φρήν,
πότερα σὲ πρῶτ' ἄρ' ἢ σ' ἀναστένω γόοις.

There is just a possibility of a *versus politicus* having played its part in the corruption which I here assume.

The words,

ἔτι γὰρ ἀμφίφλογα δίδυμα μέμηνε φρήν,

form a correct *versus politicus*, except for the fact that the first syllable is missing. I do not lay much stress on this fact, but it is interesting.

The *μέμονε* of the corrector of *C* I take to be merely a wrong conjecture.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 827-899)

(apparently the third lyric chorus)

As it stands, this chorus consists chiefly of dochmii, or in a number of cases attempts at dochmii together with a few iambic trimeters, one hexameter, some scattered anapaestic lines of a formation for the most part irregular, and a small number of verses or parts of verses in other metres. There is no strophic-antistrophic division.

It seems quite impossible to restore the chorus to its original shape, and therefore it cannot be stated whether or no at any stage of the text it presented examples of the phenomenon that I am discussing.

It is extremely difficult *in limine* to say what the original metre was. It may very well have been dochmiac and iambic, but there is no certain proof. What we now read is manifestly in large part at least a twisting back into quantitative metre, or rather into a bewildering variety of quantitative metres, of a series of *versus politici*. The result is something like a chorus of Seneca. If the whole chorus has been made up in this manner, the original metre may conceivably have entirely perished. If, on the other hand, we are dealing with fragments of the original eked out with adaptations of a political version, then the

strong probability is that the original was at least in part dochmiac.

The opening passage runs thus :

IΦ. ὦ φίλτατ', οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φίλτατος γὰρ εἶ,
ἔχω σ', Ὀρέστα, τηλύγετον
χθονὸς ἀπὸ πατρίδος
Ἀργόθεν, ὦ φίλος.

830

ΟΡ. καὶ γὼ σε τὴν θανούσαν, ὡς δοξάζεται.
κατὰ δὲ δάκρυ (the two copies of C are
said to have δάκρυ) ἀδάκρυα, κατὰ δὲ
γόος ἅμα χαρᾷ
τὸ σὸν νοτίζει βλέφαρον, ὡσαύτως δ' ἐμόν.

I propose :

IΦ. ὦ φίλτατ', οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φίλτατος γὰρ εἶ, (Trimeter)
ἔχω σε τὸν τηλύγετον χθονὸς ἀπὸ πατρίδος,
ὅθεν οὐκ ὠφελος μολεῖν.

ΟΡ. καὶ γὼ σε τὴν θανούσαν.
κατὰ δὲ δάκρυ ἄδακρυ, κατὰ δὲ γόος ἅμα
χαρᾷ νοτίζει βλέφαρον τὸ σὸν ἐμόν δ' ὡσαύτως.

(Versus
political)

In l. 831, ὡς δοξάζεται is manifestly a gloss ; and the reason why it has been mistaken for a correctional addition is that it will complete an iambic trimeter.

I do not profess to have restored throughout, even in this brief passage, the *ipsissima verba* of the political parametrist ; but I think that at least in the case of the two lines

ἔχω σε τὸν τηλύγετον χθονὸς ἀπὸ πατρίδος,

and

κατὰ δὲ δάκρυ ἄδακρυ, κατὰ δὲ γόος ἅμα,

I am treading on absolutely solid ground.

For quite other reasons Hermann suggested δάκρυ ἄδακρυ.

Over and over again in this chorus adaptation from a political version seems to be the only reasonable explanation of the existing text. But I am not editing the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and have already said as much as adherence to my main theme will permit. I have at any rate flown a danger-signal, which I venture to think ought not to be disregarded by future commentators.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1089-1152)

(apparently the fourth lyric chorus)

A, B AND C

This chorus presents three instances of the phenomenon I have set out to discuss. At the same time it seems to me to be from one end to the other a quantitative adaptation of a political paraphrase of a lost original. I am therefore justified, as I should not have been in the case of the earlier choruses, in attempting a somewhat minute examination of the chorus as a whole. It is indeed necessary for me to do so in order to arrive at the circumstances which surround the three examples.

Those examples are as follows. In the fifteenth line of the first strophe the first syllable is a long: in the fifteenth line of the first antistrophe two shorts replace that long. In the eighth line of the second strophe the second syllable is a long: in the eighth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts. In the eleventh line of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the eleventh line of the second antistrophe, for those two shorts is substituted one long.

The lines are these:

A

(a) l. 1103. λίμναν θ' εἰλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ

(b) l. 1120. μεταβάλλει δυσδαιμονία

B

(a) l. 1130. αἰδων ἄξει λιπαρὰν

(b) l. 1145. παρὰ πόδ' εἰλίσσουσα φίλας

C

(a) l. 1133. λιποῦ-

-σα βήσει ρόθιους πλάταις

(b) l. 1148. ἀβροπλούτοιο χαίτας

I will now set forth the whole chorus as it appears in our existing MSS. It runs thus :

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὄρνις, ἃ παρὰ πετρίνας	στρ. α'
πόντου δειράδας, ἀλκυνών,	1090
ἔλεγον οἷτον ἀεΐδεις,	
εὐξύνετον ξυνετοῖς (a corrector of <i>C</i> ξυνετοῖσι) βοάν,	
ὅτι πόσιν κελαδεῖς ἀεὶ μολπαῖς,	
ἐγὼ σοι παραβάλλομαι	
θρήνους, ἄπτερος ὄρνις,	1095
ποθοῦς Ἑλλάνων ἀγόρους,	
ποθοῦς Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν,	
ἃ παρὰ Κύνθιον (Δήλιον is superscribed above Κύνθιον in the copies of <i>C</i>) ὄχθον οἰκεῖ	
φοίνικά θ' ἀβροκόμαν	
δάφναν τ' εὐερνέα καὶ	1100
γλαυκᾶς θαλλὸς (so <i>C</i> , but <i>B</i> θαλὸς) ἱερὸν (a corrector of <i>C</i> and one copy of <i>C</i> ἱρὸν) ἐλαίας,	
Λατοῦς ὠδῖνα φίλαν,	
λίμναν θ' εἰλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ	
κύκνειον, ἔνθα κύκνος μελω- -δὸς Μούσας (so <i>C</i> , but <i>B</i> Μούσα) θεραπεύει.	1105
ὦ πολλὰ δακρῶν λιβάδες,	ἀντ. α'
αἱ παρηίδας εἰς μάς (so <i>C</i> , but <i>B</i> ἐς μάς : a corrector of <i>C</i> and of <i>B</i> εἰς ἐμάς)	
ἔπεσον, ἀνίκα πύργων	
ὀλομένων (a corrector of <i>C</i> οὐλομένων) ἐν (a corrector of <i>C</i> ἐνὶ) ναυσὶν ἔβαν	
πολεμίων ἐρετμοῖσι καὶ λόγχαις.	1110
ζαχρύσου δὲ δι' ἐμπολᾶς	
νόστον βάρβαρον ἦλθον,	
ἐνθα τᾶς ἐλαφοκτόνου	
θεᾶς ἀμφίπολον κόραν (a corrector of <i>C</i> κούραν)	
παῖδ' Ἀγαμεμνονίαν λατρεύω	1115
βωμοὺς τοὺς (so <i>C</i> and <i>B</i> , but a corrector of <i>C</i> sub- stitutes τε) μηλοθύτους,	
ζηλοῦς' (so <i>C</i> , but <i>B</i> ζητοῦς') ἄταν διὰ παν- -τὸς δυσδαίμον· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάγκαις	

- οὐ κάμνεις σύντροφος ὦν
 μεταβάλλει δυσδαιμονία· 1120
 τὸ γὰρ (so *C*, but *B* δὲ) μετ' εὐτυχίας κακοῦ-
 -σθαι θνατοῖς βαρὺς αἰών.
 καὶ σὲ μέν, πότνι, Ἀργεῖα
 πεντηκόντορος οἶκον ἄξει· στρ. β'
 συρίζων δ' ὁ κηροδέτας 1125
 κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανὸς
 κώπαις ἐπιθούξει,
 ὁ Φοῖβός θ' ὁ μάντις ἔχων
 κέλαδον ἐπτατόνου λύρας
 αἰείδων ἄξει λιπαρὰν 1130
 ἐς (so *C* and *B*, but a corrector of *C* εἰς) Ἀθηναίων
 ἐπὶ γᾶν.
 ἐμὲ δ' αὐτοῦ λιποῦ-
 -σα βήσῃ ῥοθίοις πλάταις·
 ἀέρι δ' ἰστία πρότονοι (so *C*, but *B* πρότονος) κατὰ 1135
 πρῶραν ὑπὲρ στόλον
 ἐκπετάσουσι πόδα
 ναὸς ὠκυπόμπου.
 λαμπρὸν ἵπποδρομον (so *C*, but *B* λαμπροὺς ἵππο-
 δρόμους) βαῖην, ἀντ. β'
 ἐνθ' εὐάλιον ἔρχεται πῦρ·
 οἰκείων δ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων 1140
 πτέρυγας ἐν νώτοις ἀμοῖς
 λήξαιμι θοάζουσα·
 χοροῖς δὲ σταίην, ὅθι καὶ
 παρθένος εὐδοκίμων γάμων,
 παρὰ πόδ' εἰλίσσουσα φίλας 1145
 ματρὸς (so *C*, but *B* ματέρος) ἡλίκων θιάσους,
 ἐς ἀμίλλας χαρίτων,
 ἀβροπλούτοιο χαίτας (so *C* and *B*, but a corrector
 of *C* χαίτας ἀβροπλούτοιο)
 εἰς ἔριν ὀρνυμένα, πολυποίκιλα φάρεα
 καὶ πλοκάμους 1150
 περιβαλλομένα
 γένυσιν ἐσκίαζον.

The very first thing likely to strike a reader of this chorus, who is also more or less familiar with mediaeval Greek metres, is the fact that it appears to teem with the

disiecta membra of versus politici. There are indeed but few instances of complete and perfect halves of a political line, but there are very numerous examples of what seem to be slight distortions of such halves: in particular the lines are repeatedly of the required length, when not of the required accent.

If we assume, as a basis of argument, that the chorus is a modification of a series of *versus politici*, split up in the main into half lines, and those half lines modified in the interest of a quantitative logaoedic scansion, and if we test the chorus on this assumption, we discover phenomena that can hardly be the result of accident.

The first strophe now consists of seventeen lines. Of these five are, so far as length goes, the first halves of *versus politici* (ll. 1089, 1091, 1094, 1096 and 1103). One (l. 1094) is also accentually perfect. Three lines (ll. 1095, 1100 and 1102) are, as far as length goes, the second halves of *versus politici*. One (l. 1102) is also accentually perfect. It is a matter of great ease to present the whole strophe in political form, thus:

άλκουνίς, πετρίνας ἢ παρὰ δειράδας πόντου
 αἰεῖδεις ἔλεγον οἰκτρόν, ξυνετὸν ξυνετοῖσι
 βοάν, τί πόσιν κελαδεῖς αἰεῖ αἰεῖ μολπαῖσι;
 ἐγὼ σοὶ παραβάλλομαι ἄπτερος ὄρνις θρήνους
 ποθοῦς' ἀγόρους Ἑλληνας, ποθοῦσα τὴν ὀλβίαν,
 ἢ παρὰ Κύνθιον οἰκεῖ ὄχθον, τήν θ' ἀβροκόμην
 φοῖνικα δάφνην τ' εὐερνή καὶ τὸν τῆς γλαυκοφύλλου
 θαλλὸν ἐλαίας ἱερόν, Λητοῦς ὠδῖνι φίλον,
 λίμνην θ' εἰλίσσουσιν νερὸν κύκλιον, ἔνθα κύκνος
 ὁ μελωδὸς τὰς μελωδούς, τὰς Μούσας, θεραπεύει.

I do not think it improbable that *άλκουνίς* may have been read *άλκυονίς* (cf. *coturnix*, where *-urnix* is ὄρνιξ), and altered into *άλκυὼν ὄρνις*.

The correction of *οἰκτρόν* for *οἶτον* was made by Barnes. For *λοχείαν*, the reading *ὀλβίαν* is Nauck's.

Portus seems first to have suggested *ὠδῖνι φίλον* for *ὠδῖνα φίλαν*, and Seidler *κύκλιον* for *κύκνειον*.

Postponing for a moment the considerations of the antistrophes, let us now pass to the second strophe.

This now contains fourteen lines. Four of these are, as far as length goes, the first halves of *versus politici* (ll. 1123, 1126, 1128 and 1130). Observe the numerical sequence of the last three: it is important. From the metrical context I do not consider that l. 1123 in reality is exactly co-extensive with a previously existing first half of a *versus politicus*, nor do I count in at all l. 1125, though it is of the right length, because from the metrical context it seems to be a corruption of the second half, not the first, of a *versus politicus*. One of these lines (l. 1130) is also accentually perfect.

One line only in this strophe is of exactly the right length for the second half of a *versus politicus* (l. 1127), but that line is also accentually perfect.

On the whole this strophe runs as easily as the first strophe into political form, and (a point of considerable importance) strict attention to political rules restores sense to the latter portion of it.

I propose (be it observed that I am forced to begin in the middle of the first line of the strophe as it stands):

Ἄργεῖα πεντηκόντορος· σῦριγξ δ', ὁ κηροδέτας
 οὐρείου κάλαμος Πανός, κώπαις ἐπιθωύξει
 Φοῖβός θ' ὁ μάντις κέλαδον τῆς ἐπτατόνου λύρας·
 ἐγείρων ἄξει λιπαρὰν σ' ἐπὶ γῆν Ἀθηναίων.
 ἐμὲ δ' αὐτοῦ προλείπουσα βήσῃ ῥοθίοις πλάταις·
 ἀέρια δὲ προτενοῦσ' ἰστία τὰ σταλέντα,
 καὶ πόδας ἐκπετάσουσι νεὼς τῆς ὠκυπόμπου.

For λιπούσα Hermann suggested προλιπούσα, which I alter to προλείπουσα.

One of the most interesting features of this strophe is the occurrence of the half line:

βήσει ῥοθίοις πλάταις.

The fact that it is the latter half of a *versus politicus* is disguised by the attempt that has been made to scan the last syllable of λιπούσα or προλιπούσα along with it. But it certainly is the latter half of a *versus politicus*, though, owing to the disguise, I have not tabulated it as such. Both in length and accentuation it is perfect.

Now Weil reads not *ρόθιους πλάταις* but *ρόθιους πλατᾶν*. Other editors have followed Weil. The ground of the change is that the adjective *ρόθιος*, as distinguished from the substantive *ρόθιον*, is unknown to tragedy. No doubt; but

βήσῃ ρόθιους πλάταις

scans politically, whereas

βήσῃ ρόθιους πλατᾶν

does not.

The adjective *ρόθιος* is not rare in late Greek. Compare an anonymous epigram (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 32):

*ἀρτιπαγῇ ρόθιαισιν ἐπὶ κροκάλαισί με νῆα,
καὶ μήπω χαροποῦ κύματος ἀφαμέναν,
οὐδ' ἀνέμεινε θάλασσα· τὸ δ' ἄγριον ἐπλήμμυρεν
χεῦμα, καὶ ἐκ σταθερῶν ἤρπασεν ἡϊόνων
ὀλκάδα τὰν δέλαιαν αἰεὶ κλόνος, ἥ γε τὰ πόντου
χεύματα κῆν χέρσφ λοῖγια κῆν πελάγει.*

The passage about the forestays and the sheets has been presented by editors with all sorts of emendations. The whole mass of them may be safely condemned on the ground that forestays are not used for the purpose of hoisting sails, and that sheets are neither employed for that purpose nor are themselves displayed aloft above the bows.

I have not much doubt as to reading either

ἀέρια δὲ προτενοῦς' ἰστία τὰ σταλέντα,

or

ἀέρια δὲ προτενοῦς' ἰστία πρὶν σταλέντα.

I regard *σταλέντα* as having given rise (with or without *πρὶν*) to *ὑπὲρ στόλον*, and *κατὰ πρῶραν* as a convenient explanatory addition to *ὑπὲρ στόλον* adopted by the quantitative restorer.

So far we have been dealing with the strophes. It is manifest that, if I am right in my contention that the existing text of this chorus is due to a quantitative alteration of a version in *versus politici*, the framer of

the existing text would most probably start by making himself strophes, and would then fit antistrophes to them. It is quite clear that he would have much greater difficulty in adapting the *versus politici* in the case of the antistrophes than in the case of the strophes. In the strophes he would only have to twist the accentual metre about a little; but in the antistrophes he would have to depart almost certainly to a very great extent from the words of the *versus politici*, in order to obtain even approximate (and several times he seems to have been satisfied with approximate) quantitative correspondence. Consequently one cannot expect to be able to restore the *versus politici* of the antistrophes with anything like the degree of probability (whether that degree be low or high) with which it may be possible to restore the *versus politici* of the strophes. There is, however, one consideration which tends to show that the antistrophic alterations need not have been so radical as one might at first sight assume. The writer of the political version (whether John Tzetzes or another) does not seem to have composed it in mediaeval language (though in part in somewhat late Greek), but only in mediaeval metre. Indeed, parts of several original compositions in *versus politici* are fairly classical. Theodore Ptochoprodromus' address to Manuel Comnenus, for instance, fluctuates, according to the varying dignity of his subject matters, between fairly classical and very unclassical Greek. The same trait is more or less preserved in modern Greek composition. There is a translation of Kingsley's *Heroes* in which the reputable characters talk something like Attic, and the disreputable something like Turkish. The fact that the language was not mediaeval must have enabled the adapter to preserve in both the strophes and the antistrophes a very large number, perhaps indeed the great majority, of the original words of Euripides, though no doubt with the turns and constructions of the sentences recast, and with a fair amount both of substitution and of padding. But we may reasonably suppose that enough of the original strophes and antistrophes was left, not indeed to enable the quantitative restorer (was he Triclinius?) to reconstruct

the original with anything like accuracy, but at least, in view of the fact that any one line in a given metre, however lax, has a sequence of quantities somewhat resembling that of any other line in the same metre, sufficient to enable him to pick out, very likely quite wrongly in detail, but still to pick out, a good deal of the Euripides that lurked beneath the *versus politici* of the antistrophes (real or assumed), and without intolerable difficulty to fit much of what he had so picked out to the quantitative metre of the strophes which he had already elaborated. Therefore I am of opinion that after all the reconstituted antistrophes need by no means be *toto coelo* removed from the original Euripidean text, though at the same time I cannot suppose that they at all closely resemble it.

These *a priori* considerations are distinctly confirmed by an examination of the existing antistrophes.

The first antistrophe, like the first strophe, now consists of seventeen lines. It might be expected that it also would exhibit five lines of the length of the first half of a *versus politicus*; but as a matter of fact it only exhibits four (ll. 1106, 1108, 1111, and 1113), the fifth line of the character in question (l. 1120) having an extra syllable in virtue of the phenomenon which I am investigating. One of these four lines (l. 1111) is accentually perfect.

This antistrophe might also be expected to resemble its strophe in presenting at the same points three lines equal in length to the second half of a *versus politicus*. Those would be its seventh, twelfth, and fourteenth lines (ll. 1112, 1117, and 1119). ll. 1112 and 1119 are of the required length; but l. 1117 can only be made of the required length by ending it in the middle of a word: that is to say, it is not of the required length. But on the other hand l. 1116 is not only of the required length, but also of the required accentuation, and this seems to indicate that we may well scan *θεῶς* in l. 1114 as a monosyllable, and treat that line also as of the required length. Otherwise, like the line immediately preceding it, it would be of the length of the first half of a *versus*

politicus; but we do not want two first halves together. Therefore we may tabulate in the first antistrophe four lines of the length, including one line of the accentuation, of the second half of a *versus politicus*.

These facts seem to corroborate the *a priori* considerations set up above; but it is also in conformity with these considerations that it does not seem reasonably possible on inspection to put the antistrophe into *versus politici* except at the expense of considerable violence. In this it differs materially from its strophe. Perhaps some one else may attempt the task. All that my argument requires is the fact of its difficulty.

Much the same may be said of the second antistrophe.

Properly considered, it presents five instances of the first half, as far as length is concerned, of a *versus politicus* (ll. 1138, 1140, and therefore not also 1141, but also 1143, 1146, and 1148). Of these lines two (ll. 1143 and 1146) are also accentually perfect. This antistrophe exhibits three examples, as far as length is concerned, of a second half of a *versus politicus* (ll. 1142, 1147 and 1152); but none of them are accentually correct.

Like the first antistrophe, the second antistrophe has a number of scattered traces of political scansion; but as a whole I am not able to put it readily, any more than the other, into its mediaeval form. Here again the intractability of antistrophe as contrasted with strophic tractability is most highly consistent with my presumptions.

We are now in a position to approach directly the three instances of the phenomenon that is the object of my investigations. I think that I have cast sufficient suspicion upon their environment to render it at least gravely doubtful whether they proceed from the pen of Euripides. But I wish to press home the attack a little further.

A

It is apparent that the first two syllables of l. 1120 (the *μετα-* of *μεταβάλλει*) are meant in the present state of the text to answer the initial long syllable of l. 1103.

But it is equally obvious that in its context *μεταβάλλει* is meaningless, though the word has a sort of affinity to the general sense of the passage.

By a fortunate accident (or possibly because at this point the parametrist reversed his usual process) what is not true elsewhere is true here: this part of the first antistrophe has retained its political character much more completely than the corresponding portion of the first strophe. Consequently I am able to have easy recourse to *versus politici* to help us out of the difficulty. I read:

δυσδαίμον'· ἐν ἀνάγκαις γὰρ οὐ κάμνει σύντροφος ὢν.
 μεταβολαὶ δυσδαίμονες· τὸ δὲ μετ' εὐτυχίαν
 κακοῦσθαι τοῖς θνητοῖς βαρὺς αἰών. σὲ μὲν κατάξει
 Ἀργεῖα πεντηκόντορος κτλ. (see above).

I do not think that until now reasonable sense has ever been restored to the passage. Kirchhoff went some way in that direction by reading *μεταβολή* for *μεταβάλλει*.

If anyone thinks that verses not originally political can be thrown so simply into a political form, I will only ask him to try his hand on any quantitative passage of proved authenticity, and I guarantee that he will very speedily find out his mistake. *μεταβολαὶ δυσδαίμονες* is a true maxim in more senses than one.

B

1. 1130 seems to be of indisputable mediaeval authenticity. It is in the fullest sense the first half of a *versus politici*. I am disposed to make up the antistrophic *versus politici* thus:

παρ πόδα πόδ' εἰλίσσουσα φίλης μητρὸς ἡλίκων.

The expression *παρ πόδ'* seems to be unintelligible. What is wanted is almost certainly something meaning *πόδα παρ πόδα*. The real question, to my mind, is whether Tzetzes or a contemporary would have admitted into *versus politici* so archaic a form as *πάρ*. In the case of Tzetzes personally his familiarity with Pindar (*Pythians* iii. 60 γρόντα τὸ παρ ποδός) may easily have

led him to write *πὰρ πόδα*. In any case, supposing Euripides himself wrote *πὰρ πόδα πόδ'*, as he may well have done, I can see no valid reason why the words should not have been transferred bodily into a *versus politicus*. Accentually they are very convenient, and I do not think that we ought to credit the Constantinopolitan scholars with quite so fine an appreciation of the distinctions between dialects as might be looked for to-day. To them any kind of classical Greek was in itself an archaism.

C

The same kind of question arises with regard to the word *ἀβροπλούτοιο* in l. 1148, except that I suppose it is impossible for Euripides himself to have used that form.

I consider it impossible to do very much with the antistrophe at this point. It is possible to suggest in continuation of what I have proposed under the heading B,

θιάσοις, ἐς ἀμίλλας τε χαρίτων ἀβροπλούτου,

and to take the succeeding words (which certainly indicate considerable corruption) as transposed and altered beyond reasonable chance of recognition.

Markland's *χλιδᾶς* for *χαίτας* is exceedingly attractive. On the whole I reject *ἀβροπλούτοιο* because I do not think a mediaeval writer would have used such a form, unless he had been fortified by finding it in the actual text of the author he was more or less paraphrasing.

l. 1107,

αἰ παρηίδας εἰς μάς (so C: B *ἐς μάς*),

is highly important. The use of the vernacular *μάς* by no means indicates that the paraphrasist so far abandoned dignity of language, much less that the quantitative reformer suffered such a form to remain; but it certainly indicates that some copyist judged the text to be sufficiently unclassical to admit a Romaic form. Where *μάς* was felt to be not out of place, *τόρα* or anything

of the kind might quite easily have crept in. But *μάς* is enough.

I invite careful consideration of the problems connected with this chorus. I have demonstrated nothing at all; but I think that I have *donné à penser*. My main difficulty has been to clothe in language general impressions that for the most part have come to me not so much by any process of argument as immediately from the perusal of the text.

It is going much beyond the limits of what can be made fairly probable to attempt to fix the Euripidean metre of the original, which I suppose to have been paraphrased or, more properly speaking, transmetrified.

It is possible that the second chorus of the *Hecuba* preserves, by borrowing, some portion of the original of the fifth chorus of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. See my remarks on the *Hecuba* chorus.

It is more probable than not that the genuine original first line of this chorus is preserved in l. 1309 of Aristophanes' *Ranae*. We there read (ll. 1309-13):

ἀλκύνες, αἱ παρ' ἀενάοις θαλάσσας
κύμασι στωμύλλετε 1310
τέγγουσαι νοτίοις πτερῶν
ῥανίσι, χροά δροσιζόμεναι.

In the Aristophanic passage Aeschylus is represented as stringing together a number of Euripidean lines into a burlesque chorus. The same chorus is very important as regards its bearings on the play known as Euripides' *Electra*.

I do not suppose that more than the first line of the chorus is from the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. A scholiast on R attributes something in the neighbourhood to the *Iphigenia* of Euripides, without specifying which *Iphigenia* he means: a scholiast on V makes the attribution to the *Iphigenia in Aulide*. Both scholia now appear as if they applied to l. 1315 (*ιστότονα πηνίσματα*) of the *Ranae*; but there can be little doubt that they really refer to l. 1309.

It is almost incredible that the *Iphigenia in Aulide*

should have contained a choric line so similar to ll. 1089–90 of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Therefore we are fairly entitled—not with certainty, but with high probability—to assume that, as the first line of this chorus, Aristophanes read and Euripides wrote :

ἀλκύνες, αἱ παρ' ἀνέοις θαλάσσας.

Aristophanic editors of importance have been puzzled by the combined likeness and unlikeness of the line in the *Ranae* and the lines in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. I think that my suggestion of a Political paraphrase offers for the first time a solution of the difficulty.

Observe that in the paraphrase πόντου has been substituted for θαλάσσας. The general difference here between the *Ranae* and the *Iphigenia* seems to afford some evidence by which to measure the probable extent of Political alteration.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1234–1283)

(apparently the fifth lyric chorus)

This chorus, though composed of a long strophe and antistrophe, contains only one example of the phenomenon I am investigating, and that example is quite manifestly due to corruption. I therefore am not concerned, for the purposes of my argument, to embark on a general discussion of the text. When I have dealt with the solitary instance, I will only mention very briefly what seem to me to be some of the leading probabilities.

In the ninth line of the strophe the eighth, that is to say the last, syllable is a long: the ninth line of the antistrophe substitutes for this long two shorts, and after the two shorts one version of the text adds a final long.

The lines are :

(α) l. 1242. ἀστάκτων μάτηρ ὑδάτων

(β) l. 1267. γὰρ εὐνάς ἔφραζον. Γαῖα δὲ (so (?) B: but C adds τὴν above the line: one Paris copy of C omits τὴν, but the other gives τὴν δέ).

It is manifest from the strophic context that *μάτηρ ὑδάτων*, which refers to the peak of Parnassus, must be in the accusative, and also that, if the accusative is to be readily intelligible (the sentence being complicated), some such preposition as *εἰς* or *πρός* must be attached to it.

Three emendations have been proposed :

ἀστάκτων ματέρ' ὑδάτων (Jacobs),
ἀστάκτων ματέρ' εἰς ὑδάτων (Weil),
 and *ἀστάκτων πρὸς νᾶμ' ὑδάτων* (Wecklein).

I reject Wecklein's emendation, because I do not see how *νᾶμα* can, consistently with sense, stand in apposition with *Παρνάσιον κορυφάν*. I cannot accept Weil's *ματέρ' εἰς* as at all necessarily what Euripides wrote : to do so would be to admit the general authenticity of the chorus more or less as it stands. But I consider that Weil has very possibly hit on the reading out of which the existing text of the line has sprung.

If that is so, I can see nothing for it but to adopt in the antistrophic line the reading with *τὴν* (which reading was no doubt conjectural), except that I agree with Weil that we must leave out the augment of *ἔφραζον*, and alter *γὰρ εὐνὰς* to *χαμεύνας* and *τὴν* to *τὰν*. I accept Weil's

χαμεύνας φράζον· Γαῖα δὲ τὰν.

But I accept it not as Euripidean, but as the probable source of the MS. text. As Hermann saw, *Γαῖα* is quite unnecessary, the nominative *χθών* having been already expressed. Moreover the insertion of *τὰν* necessitates the further insertion (made by Hermann) of *δ'* in the next line, and that *δ'* has to be the third word of its clause.

To turn for a moment to the chorus as a whole it contains three *versus technici* of the ordinary trimeter type, viz. ll. 1245, 1246, and 1270. l. 1271 lacks a syllable, but has been readily emended into conformity with its strophic counterpart, and, as usually printed, is also a technical trimeter. ll. 1249, 1250, 1274, and 1275 are technical trimeters catalectic. Possibly also ll. 1257 and 1282 are technical trimeters, not catalectic ; but, if so, they are of distinctly loose construction.

ll. 1234–7 inclusive are a set of technical iambic dimeters catalectic: the corresponding antistrophic lines (1259–62) are partly of the same type, but there is a hiatus and lacuna in the middle, perhaps due to the impossibility of splitting up a word between two technical verses, and to the adoption of the unsatisfactory expedient of leaving it out.

The rest of the chorus would require more exhaustive discussion than adherence to my subject matter permits.

On the whole I am inclined to suppose that the entire chorus is a re-adaptation to strictly quantitative metre of a technical version of the original. As no very great alterations are required (indeed they consist chiefly of the introduction of diaereses at fixed intervals) in order to turn most quantitative metres into *versus technici*, so conversely the restorer had an easy task when he set about to put the *versus technici* back into a quantitative strophe and antistrophe. But he repeatedly betrays the fact that his work is a restoration by retaining the diaereses between the technical verses, even when he has very largely restored quantitative correspondence between strophe and antistrophe. To speak a little more in detail, he leaves his strophe very largely technical, and then alters his antistrophe, as much as he judges necessary, to suit the strophic quantities. The result is that a good part of the chorus conforms at one and the same time to the laws both of technical iambic metre, and of strictly quantitative logaoedic metre.

I can find no trace of *versus politici*.

SUMMARY

The *Iphigenia in Tauris* presents five examples of the phenomenon under investigation. The textual condition of the play is such that it will be useless for me to attempt to summarize with regard to these five, further than is involved in the bare statement of their number.

IPHIGENIA IN AULIDE

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 164–302)

A

In the sixth line of the second strophe the first syllable is a long: in the sixth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are:

(*a*) l. 236. δεξιὸν πλάτας ἔχων

(*b*) l. 247. Σθένηςλος· Ἀτθίδος δ' ἄγων

The strophic context runs (ll. 235–8):

καὶ κέρασ μὲν ἦν
δεξιὸν πλάτας ἔχων
Φθιώτας ὁ Μυρμιδῶν Ἀρης
πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ θουρίαις.

It seems clear that ἦν ἔχων is intolerable. ἐκεῖ ἦν ἔχων, or the like, would be quite a different matter; but ἦν by itself has not, at any rate in such a context as this, a signification to justify the addition of a temporal participle.

The employment of ἦν is a feature of this chorus, as it now stands.

In addition to this passage, we read in the third strophe (ll. 255–6):

τοῖς δὲ Κάδμος ἦν
χρύσειον δράκοντ' ἔχων,

and in the corresponding lines of the third antistrophe (ll. 268–9):

σὺν δ' Ἀδραστος ἦν
ταγός, ὥς φίλος φίλῳ.

The latter passage is grammatically unexceptionable ; but in the former, although τοῖς δὲ Κάδμος ἦν does admit of translation, yet, even apart from the participle ἔχων, it is so clumsy that I do not hesitate to read the strophic and antistrophic lines thus :

τοὺς δὲ Κάδμος ἦ-
-γε χρύσειον δράκοντ' ἔχων,

and

σὺν δ' Ἀδραστος ἦ-
-γε ταγός, ὡς φίλος φίλῳ.

We have seen elsewhere that copyists sometimes jib at a word which runs over from one line into another.

I am of opinion that the false reading, ἦν ἔχων, in ll. 268-9 produced a false reading in l. 236, that ἔχων in that line is an interpolation, and that we ought to restore the passage in some such way as by writing :

καὶ κέρας μὲν ἦν
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν πλάτας.

I do not draw into the argument the ἄγων ἦν of ll. 262-3. Possibly the order and the run of the sentence may there make a difference.

It must be borne in mind that copyists very probably took πλάτας as an accusative plural. That would easily account for the insertion of ἔχων (especially with ll. 256-7 close at hand), and for the omission of ἐπὶ τὸ both *metri* and *sensus gratia*.

B

In the third line of the third strophe the third syllable is a long : in the third line of the third antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 255. σημείουσιν ἐστολισμένας

(b) l. 267. ναῶν ἐκατὸν ἡθροῖσμένους

Liddell and Scott (s.v. στολίζω) remark : “ νῆες σημείους ἐστ. Pseudo-Eur. I. A. 255.” Not only is the laxity of

quotation confusing to the reader, but the boldness of "Pseudo-Eur." is remarkable. I am not at all concerned to defend the authenticity of this chorus; but it is not a chorus that arouses my suspicions as much as a great many others. In any case lexicographers have no right to condemn on mere suspicion. "Pseudo-Phalaris" and "Pseudo-Phocylides" are justifiable terms even in a dictionary; but that is because the charge of forgery has in those cases been proved. No doubt it has also been proved with regard to some of the *Iphigenia in Aulide*; it certainly has not been proved, whether it be true or not, as regards this passage. Nor do I suppose it ever will be, unless earlier manuscripts than we now possess come to light. If they do, their evidence will be invaluable, and very possibly unexpected.

The strophic context runs:

Βοιωτῶν δ' ὄπλισμα ποντίας
πεντήκοντα νῆας εἰδόμαν
σημείοισιν ἐστολισμένας.

255

As Euripides writes εἰς γῆν Ἀσίαν (*Orestes* 353) and Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίας (*Bacchae* 64), I presume that it was open to him to use at discretion the neuter adjective Ἀσιον. Therefore I venture to propose:

σχῆμ' εἰς Ἀσιον ἐστολισμένας.

This reading follows the *ductus*, gives a reasonable sense to ἐστολισμένας, and would be pleasing to an Athenian audience.

C

In the twelfth line of the third strophe the first two syllables are two shorts: in the twelfth line of the third antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are:

- (α) l. 264. Θροιάδ' ἐκλιπὼν πόλιν
(β) l. 276. τὸν πάροικον Ἀλφεόν

The strophic line seems beyond suspicion. The anti-strophic context is this :

ἐκ Πύλου δὲ Νέστορος
Γερηνίου κατειδόμαν
πρύμνας σῆμα, ταυρόπουν ὄραν, 275
τὸν πάροικον Ἀλφεόν.

πάροικον reads very strangely. It cannot mean 'near the house' (of Nestor). That would have to be expressed by *παροίκιον*, did such a word exist (compare *παραποτάμιος*). It must mean 'having a house near' (to that of Nestor). Any such expression is very strange when applied to a river-god. On the other hand, *πάροικος* would be a very natural description of a person living by the bank of a river. Compare a fragment of Diogenes of Athens (*Semele fr.* ll. 6-9) preserved by Athenaeus :

κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας τε παρθένους
ποταμῷ παροίκους Ἀλυϊ Τρωλίαν θεὸν
δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος Ἀρτεμιν σέβειν.

But it is sheer nonsense to speak either of the Alpheus dwelling near Nestor, or of Nestor dwelling near the Alpheus. At no point of its course does the Alpheus come within 30 miles of Pylos, and it is separated from it by any number of hill-ranges. I know Pylos personally, and should no more think of describing a person dwelling there as dwelling by the Alpheus, than I should think of describing an inhabitant of Poole as dwelling by the Exe.

If anyone imagines that the reference is to Gerenia, and not to Pylos, it makes the case no better. The exact locality of the town is unknown ; but at any rate it was a very long way from the Alpheus.

I think then that I am justified in saying that the reading *τὸν πάροικον* is not merely improbable but impossible.

It seems to be an unintelligent application, in an ungeographical age, of *Iliad* v. 544-5 :

ποταμοῖο

Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅστ' εὐρὺν ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης.

But those lines serve only to mark the extent of the Pylian kingdom at its zenith. Alpheus was "far" from the city of Pylos. See *Iliad* xi. 711-12:

ἔστι δέ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη,
τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ, νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος.

Indeed, the whole of that passage (*Iliad* xi. 689-726) shows that it was a journey of a day and a half from Pylos to the Alpheus.

The particular emendation is of little consequence, but I suggest:

τὸν ἐπαρωγὸν Ἀλφεόν.

I am not going to attempt the task of investigating the possibility of dividing the two epodes of this chorus (ll. 206-30 and 277-302) into strophes and antistrophes. That task has been attempted with extremely inconclusive results. My own opinion is that, at any rate in places, we have, as throughout the choruses of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, nothing better than an attempt to restore to quantitative metre a paraphrase in a mediaeval measure. I will content myself with quoting two complete *versus politici* which occur in succession (ll. 291-4):

τῶν ἄσπον ὥρμει πλάταισιν ἐσχάταισι συμπλέκων
δῶδεκ' εὐστροφωτάταισι ναυσίν· ὥς ἄϊον καί.

I might possibly be able to exhibit at any rate the latter epode in a political form presumably not very far removed from that of the mediaeval version which I assume; but the result would have very little bearing on my subject matter. It is enough for me that the text presents no *prima facie* instances (since, as it stands, it is not strophic-antistrophic) of the phenomenon I am investigating, and that I cannot see any reasonable probability of getting down to original strophes and antistrophes (if there ever were any) with sufficient definiteness to enable me to point out hidden instances of the phenomenon. So far as I have any concern with side issues, I have, I think, discharged my devoir to them by pointing out the existence of a complete political couplet.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 543-589)

A

In the fifth line of the strophe the first syllable is a long: in the fifth line of the antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 547. μαινόμεν' οἷστρον, ὅθι δὴ

(β) l. 562. μέγα φέρουσ' εἰς τὰν ἀρετάν

μαινόμεν' is certainly corrupt. The strophic context runs:

μάκαρες οἷ μετρίας θεοῦ
μετά τε σωφροσύνας μετέ-
-σχον λέκτρων Ἀφροδίτας,
γαλανεῖα χρησάμενοι
μαινόμεν' οἷστρον, ὅθι δὴ
δίδνμ' Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας
τόξ' ἐντείνεται χαρίτων,
τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐαίῳνι πότμῳ,
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς.

545

550

Nauck emends to *μ*αινολῶν, Wecklein to *μανιάδων*. But it is difficult for me to believe that there can be said to be a *γαλάνεια* or 'calm' of or from *οἷστροι*, unless some such addition is made to the statement as an adjective describing the *οἷστροι* as 'tempestuous' or the like. The *-αινόμεν'* of *μ*αινόμεν' seems to me to indicate an adjective ending in *-ανέμων* to agree with *οἷστρον*. *δυσᾶνέμων* is too far removed from the *ductus literarum* for me to suggest it with full confidence. But it appears to be almost imperatively required by the sense. I therefore propose it, and at the same time I venture the explanation that some copyist regarded *δυσᾶνέμων* as an impossible form (knowing only *δυσσηνέμων*), and omitted the *δυσ-* in a muddled effort to emend the text.

That *δυσᾶνεμος* is possible Greek is proved by the occurrence of *εὐᾶνεμον* in an epigram by Crinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 555, l. 6). Crinagoras was a poet of some

distinction who lived at Mytilene in the first century B.C. Consequently his authority is worth but little, if this part of the *Iphigenia in Aulide* is from the pen of Euripides; but although it is rash, as I pointed out on the first chorus, to affix the brand of spuriousness without clear proof, nevertheless very few editors will deny that there are passages in this play which are either not the work of Euripides at all, or else, if his work, then his work so disguised by other hands as to be hardly better than a forgery.

B

In the eleventh line of the strophe the first syllable is a long: the eleventh line of the antistrophe substitutes for this long two shorts.

These are the lines:

(α) l. 553. *Κύπρι καλλίστα, θαλάμων*

(b) l. 568. *μέγα τι θηρεύειν ἀρετάν*

These two lines are instructive. There is a minute error in each of them.

The strophic context runs (following immediately on the strophic extract given under the heading A):

ἀπενέπω νιν ἀμετέρων

Κύπρι (B ὦ Κύπρι) καλλίστα, θαλάμων.

It causes a little surprise to find the first syllable of *Κύπρι* lengthened. The lengthening is in violation of no rule, but it is the kind of lengthening which is rare in the tragedians and common in their imitators. Moreover, assuming for the sake of argument that the phenomenon I am investigating is permissible, it is at any rate in the nature of a licence. Consequently Euripides is combining two licences in one, if he really both lengthens the first syllable of *Κύπρι*, and also puts that lengthened first syllable in metrical correspondence with two antistrophic shorts.

If there is something strange in this, there is something still stranger in the expression *Κύπρι καλλίστα*. The

beauty of Cypris is not a topic naturally arising from the context. I do not believe that any of the best writers would introduce in this manner a superlative adjective, not strictly connected with the context, without leading up to it in some way or other. Personally I have no doubt but that we ought to read :

*ἀπενέπω νιν ἀμετέρων,
Κύπρι, Κύπρι καλλίστα, θαλάμων.*

The duplication of *Κύπρι* makes all the difference to the admissibility of *καλλίστα*.

In the antistrophic line *θηρεύειν* is highly suspicious by itself. The traditional practice of tragedy to dispense to a great extent with the Attic article does not extend to the verb-substantive. On the contrary the tragedians not infrequently prefix the neuter article to infinitives, dependent on verbs both of predication and of volition, when the presence of the article is forbidden by the rules of Attic prose.

Therefore I read :

μέγα τι τὸ θηρεύειν ἀρετάν.

Neither in strophe nor in antistrophe is there any palaeographical objection to what I propose: in both I am certain that I have usage at my back.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 751-800)

In the tenth line of the strophe the sixth syllable is a long: in the tenth line of the antistrophe for this long are substituted two shorts.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 760. *κοσμηθεῖσαν, ὅταν θεοῦ*
 (b) l. 771. *εἰς γὰρ Ἑλλάδα δοριπόνοις*

Considerations of sense and of grammar are more prominent than usual in this play as factors in the process of elimination of offending textual phenomena. In this instance neither palaeography nor metre (except on the assumption that it is already probable that a long and

two shorts cannot stand in correspondence) is able, unaided, to throw light upon the question. But we have only to consult sense and grammar in order to obtain an answer that is quite consistent with palaeographical principles.

The antistrophic context runs thus :

τὰν τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι δισσῶν
 Διοσκούρων Ἑλέναν
 ἐκ Πριάμον κομίσαι θέλων
 εἰς γὰν Ἑλλάδα δοριπόνους
 ἀσπίσι καὶ λόγχαις Ἀχαιῶν. 770

Helen was not the daughter but the sister of the Dioscuri. The Greek words τὰν τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι δισσῶν Διοσκούρων Ἑλέναν state unequivocally that she was the daughter of the Dioscuri. As this is nonsense, it follows that, if the text as a whole is sound, some other word must have replaced a word meaning 'sister.'

What does δοριπόνους mean? Does it agree with ἀσπίσι only, or with the compound expression ἀσπίσι καὶ λόγχαις? In either case the element δορι-, in order to make sense, must have the general signification of 'war,' and not the particular and proper signification of 'spear.' But it is manifestly outrageous to use δόρυ or its derivatives in the catachrestic meaning of 'war,' when almost in the same breath shields and spears are contrasted.

Therefore the word δοριπόνους is so strongly suspect, that we are justified in attempting to substitute for it the word meaning 'sister.'

Let us consider the result :

τὰν τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι δισσῶν
 Διοσκούρων Ἑλέναν
 ἐκ Πριάμον κομίσαι θέλων
 εἰς γὰν Ἑλλάδ' ἀδελφεὰν
 ἀσπίσι καὶ λόγχαις Ἀχαιῶν. 770

Personally I like the effect. There is something reminiscent, though not too reminiscent, of the Pindaric

style in the binding up of the sentence into one organism by the expression at so late a point in it of the expected substantive that has to complete the meaning of the initial τὰν. And it is exactly this deferring of the word ἀδελφεὰν that would lead a copyist ignorant of lyric tradition to suppose that the word was an error. That the copyist responsible for the present text was incompetent, we know in any case. Either he fancied that τὰν Διοσκούρων Ἑλέαν could mean 'Helen, the sister of the Dioscuri,' or else he imagined that Helen was their daughter. I am not sure whether of the two is the worse mistake.

Let us look at the matter palaeographically.

I take it that the copyist, not seeing the sense of the words Ἑλλάδ' ἀδελφεὰν, first of all read Ἑλλάδα δελφεὰν, and then proceeded to emend. As φ strongly resembles ρ, and as there was very probably a note in the margin, δούρασιν, intended as a gloss on λόγχαις in the next line, he would be likely to assume that δελφεὰν was a corruption of some word beginning with δορυ- or δορι-, and to mistake the gloss δούρασιν for a correction of this corruption. He would easily see that it was not a complete or satisfactory correction; and therefore, acting on the best of his lights with regard to sense and metre, he would not at all improbably, keeping as near as he could to the *ductus*, elaborate δοριπόνους out of his own consciousness.

It must be remembered that I base my emendation on other than palaeographical grounds; but I think that I have shown that the dynamics of palaeography do not in any degree make against it. It does not do to treat palaeography as purely statical.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 1036-1097)

A

In the third line of the strophe the sixth and seventh syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the anti-strophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are :

(a) l. 1038. *συρίγγων θ' ὑπὸ καλαμοεσ-
-σᾶν*

(b) l. 1060. *Κενταύρων ἐπὶ δαῖτα τὰν
θεῶν*

Here again we have to examine the meaning ; and it is a fine point that we shall have to decide.

The strophic context is this (ll. 1036-9) :

*τίς ἄρ' ὑμέναιος διὰ λωτοῦ Λίβυος
μετά τε φιλοχόρου κιθάρας
συρίγγων θ' ὑπὸ καλαμοεσ-
-σᾶν ἔστασεν ἰαχάν.*

Three instruments are mentioned, the *λωτός*, the *κιθάρα*, and the *σύριγξ*. Why should the *λωτός* and the *σύριγξ* be distinguished ? They were certainly very nearly akin. I think that the answer is to be found in the word *Λίβυος*. It seems to me that the *Λίβυς λωτός* must have been the wind instrument on which the *νόμος πολυκέφαλος* was played (see Pindar, *Pyth.* xii., and the Scholia thereon). The *νόμος πολυκέφαλος* was so called, according to tradition, because Athene invented it in imitation of the hissing of the snakes on Medusa's head after Perseus had cut it off. We know that that scene was currently laid in Libya (see Herodotus ii. 91). This would almost be enough of itself to show that the *πολυκέφαλος νόμος* was played on the *Λίβυς λωτός* ; but a rather strong additional argument is the fact that a particular kind of snakes were called *λίβυες*. See Hesychius, and also Nicander (*Theriaca* 490) :

*οὓς ἔλοπας λίβυάς τε πολυστεφέας τε μνάγρους
φράζονται.*

Therefore I assume that *διὰ λωτοῦ Λίβυος* refers to the wind instrument on which was played the particularly strident music of the *πολυκέφαλος νόμος*. From this it would seem to follow that we have here a case of 'flutes and soft recorders.' In other words, we ought to find with *συρίγγων*, which is a perfectly general word, some

adjective to differentiate it from the strident *λωτός*. I do not think that *καλαμοεσσάν* is such an adjective, but if, with a very slight alteration, we read

συρίγγων θ' ὑφ' ἐκαλομού-
-σων,

‘and to the sound of recorders soft of strain,’ we arrive at exactly what is wanted.

This suggestion of mine seems to me to receive additional support from the expression *φιλοχόρου κιθάρας*. Even if *λωτοῦ Λίβυος* did not occur in the passage, I should be inclined to argue that the fact of *φιλοχόρου* and *καλαμοεσσάν* being adjectives not *in pari materia* made one or the other of them inelegant. On my reading we have first the strident strains of the *λωτός*, next the mirthful dance-music of the *κιθάρα*, and lastly the quiet tones of the *σύριγξ*.

Palaeographically it can hardly be denied that *συρίγγων θ' ὑφ' ἐκαλομούσων* would almost necessarily have passed in the course of time into *συρίγγων ὑπὸ καλαμοεσσάν*.

If I am right, there is an end of this instance of the phenomenon I am investigating.

B AND C

In the ninth line of the strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts, and the sixth syllable a long: in the ninth line of the antistrophe for the two shorts is substituted a long, and for the long two shorts.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1044. Πηλέως εἰς γάμον ἦλθον (the next line begins with a consonant)

(b) l. 1066. Χείρων ἐξωνόμασεν

The antistrophic context runs:

μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγον· ὦ Νηρηὶ κόρα,
παῖδες αἱ Θεσσαλαὶ μέγα φῶς—
(μάντις ὁ φοιβάδα μούσαν

εἰδώς)—γεννάσεις—
 (Χείρων ἐξωνόμασεν)—
 ὃς ἤξει χθόνα
 λογχήρεσι σὺν Μυρμιδόνων
 ἀσπισταῖσι κτλ.

1065

The above is the reading of *C*. The first hand of *B* writes l. 1064 thus: μάντις δ' ὁ Φοῖβα μούσαν. The second hand of *B* gives μάντις ὁ Φοῖβος μουσᾶν τ'. The second hand of *B* gives γεννήσεις in l. 1065. In l. 1068 *B* reads λογχήρεσι.

In l. 1063 Weil, for παῖδες αἱ Θεσσαλαί, reads παῖδα σὲ Θεσσαλίᾳ, and, as a necessary consequence, in l. 1065 γεννάσειν for γεννάσεις. But it is impossible for the verb ἐξονομάζειν to take an accusative and an infinitive.

In l. 1066, for ἐξωνόμασεν, Farnhaber reads ἐξονόμαζεν, Dindorf ἐξονόμηνεν. But both these emendations have the defect of leaving the last syllable of l. 1066 short, whereas the last syllable of l. 1044 is long by position.

I propose to read :

μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγον· ὦ Νηρηὶ κόρα,
 παῖδα σὺ Θεσσαλίᾳ μέγα φῶς—
 (μάντις ὁ φοιβάδα μούσαν
 εἰδώς)—γεννάσεις—
 (Χείρων ἐξονόμαζέ σφ')—
 ὃς ἤξει κτλ.

This reading has the advantage of giving the verb ἐξονομάζειν its proper meaning, of supplying it with a direct accusative, and of restoring complete metre. But it does more than this. It explains the corruption ἐξωνόμασε. σφ' was misunderstood. The φ was, as often, mistaken for an ο with a cancelling down-stroke through it. The σ was thought to be a correction of the ζ of ἐξονόμαζε. Consequently ἐξονόμασε, and *metri gratia* ἐξωνόμασεν, resulted.

The phenomenon that I am investigating is, as often, so here, an incident in a wider corruption.

D

In the thirteenth line of the strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: in the thirteenth line of the antistrophe they are replaced by one long.

These are the lines:

(a) l. 1048. Πηλιάδα καθ' ὕλαν

(b) l. 1070. γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων

As there is no evidence of an adjective Πήλιος, and as the forms relating to Mount Pelion are given in some detail by Stephanus of Byzantium, so that, if Πήλιος had existed, we probably should know of it, Πηλίαν cannot be read for Πηλιάδα.

But the antistrophic line can be easily emended.

Read:

γαῖαν ἀναπυρώσων.

I suggest that by haplography this became γαῖαν ἀπυρώσων, which was naturally emended into γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων.

E

In the nineteenth line of the strophe the two last syllables, the ninth and tenth, are two shorts: in the nineteenth line of the antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The passages run thus:

(a) ll. 1054-7. παρὰ δὲ λευκοφαῇ ψάμαθον
εἰλίσσόμεναι κύκλια
πεντήκοντα κόραι Νηρέως
γάμους ἐχόρευσαν.

(b) ll. 1076-9. μακάριον τότε δαίμονες
τᾶς εὐπάτρινδος
Νηρηῆδος ἔθεσαν γάμον
Πηλέως θ' ὑμεναίους.

Discarding the suggestions of various editors (the lines have evidently been somewhat seriously corrupted), but

adopting Weil's transposition of *Νηρέως* and *γάμους*, I incline on the whole to the following :

- (α) παρὰ δὲ λευκοφαῇ ψάμα-
-θον εἰλίσσόμεναι κύκλῳ
πεντήκοντα κόραι γάμους
Νηρέως ἐχόρευσαν.
(β) μακάριον τότε δαίμονες
ἔθεντ' εὐπάτριδος κόρας
Νηρηῆδος γάμον εὐγάμων
Πηλέως θ' ὑμεναίους.

In any case, instances of the phenomenon in question, that occur in contexts such as this, are valueless as evidence, except indeed of the undisputed fact that for many centuries copyists regarded the correspondence as legitimate.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1283-1335)

This chorus, at any rate as it stands, is not strophic-antistrophic, and therefore presents no example of the phenomenon which I discuss. On the whole I am inclined to regard it as a clever forgery. ll. 1291-1311 seem to me to be based upon the *Andromache*, ll. 274-92. Compare the almost slavish, and infinitely inferior, imitations of the *Hecuba* in the long *ῥῆσις ἀγγέλου*, which begins at l. 1540 of this play.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1475-1531)

This chorus consists of what look like a strophe and antistrophe, separated by a short conversation, of a lyrical nature, which does not appear to be reducible itself to anything like strophic-antistrophic law.

To explain more in detail, we have first twenty-five lines, mainly or at least largely trochaic, in the mouth of Clytemnestra (ll. 1475-99). Then follow two lines in the mouth of the chorus, two in that of Iphigenia, one line in that of the chorus, and five in that of Iphigenia. Finally we have twenty-two lines uttered by the chorus (ll. 1510-31), very similar in general character to the

set of twenty-five lines uttered by Clytemnestra, and capable, with a little redivision, of being set out so as to exhibit the same total.

To this *prima facie* evidence that we are dealing with a strophe and antistrophe must be added the argument that we find antistrophic echoes of an even violent character. The ode of Clytemnestra begins :

ἄγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου
καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν.
στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε, φέρετε.
στέφανος ὅδε καταστέφειν.
χερνίβων τε παγαῖσι.

1475

The ode uttered by the chorus begins :

ἴδεσθε τὰν Ἰλίου
καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν
στείχουσιν, ἐπὶ κἀρα στέφη
βαλλομένα, χερνίβων τε παγαῖς (but a
corrector of C παγὰς).

1510

The lines seem to corroborate strongly the first impression that this is a case of a strophe and an antistrophe; but they also suggest that there is not that correspondence between the two which would mark a classical production.

Considering the fact that this chorus is imbedded in the concluding portion of the *Iphigenia in Aulide*, it would be inexcusable to view it without grave suspicion. It is beyond all doubt that the end of this play is in large part unclassical. Opinions may well differ on the question whether the existing text is, as regards this part of the play, altogether unauthentic, or whether it contains a certain amount of genuine Euripides eked out with the composition of a much later age. It is difficult to denounce with certainty any but a very few passages as wholly unoriginal in the sense that they may not be based on the half unintelligible remains of some mutilated MS. But it is quite plain that the end of the play as a whole has either been rewritten or at least remoulded in post-classical times. Hermann suspects that Demetrius

Triclinius had a hand in the matter. I agree in his suspicion; but the mischief is that some one without a tithe of Triclinius' knowledge has also been at work. Yet in a way this is fortunate. Triclinius has, I suppose, touched up more or less not a few plays of Euripides; and his touch is sufficiently like that of Euripides himself to awaken, as a rule, very little suspicion. If he alone, or if first John Tzetzes and afterwards he, had been concerned with the production of the text of the latter portion of this play, it would probably pass current as a sample of the laxer style of Euripides, and German editors would base metrical theories upon the choruses. The clumsy hand of the sciolist, who put together the *ῥῆσις*, has at least saved us from that.

SUMMARY

The *Iphigenia in Aulide* exhibits eleven examples of the phenomenon under investigation. One of these is manifestly corrupt, and two others occur within the compass of a single line. With regard to a considerable proportion of the remaining eight instances, it is necessary to take into consideration matters of a non-metrical character.

DANAE

The extreme end of the *Iphigenia in Aulide*, as it now exists, is in Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*), written in a new and late hand on an inserted folio, although Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*) makes no distinction of handwriting or the like between the end of the play and the portions that precede it.

After the *Iphigenia in Aulide*, *B* alone continues, still on the inserted folio and still in the new and late hand, with the argument and the first sixty-five lines of the *Danae*. The rest of the folio is left blank: so also is

the whole of the next folio. Then follows the *Hippolytus* in writing of an earlier date.

Jacobs attempted to prove that the sixty-five lines are a forgery: all recent scholars have accepted his view.

I by no means assent. The lines are disfigured by atrocious faults of many kinds. But they are not a forgery: they are a very incompetent attempt to restore classical metre to a mediaeval paraphrase.

That they are an adaptation, not an original composition, is apparent from a consideration of ll. 6-16:

οὗτος δ' ἔρωτι παιδὸς ἄρσενος σχεθεῖς
 Πυθῶδ' ἀφίκτο καὶ λέγει Φοῖβφ τάδε·
 πῶς ἂν γένοιτο σπέρμα παιδὸς ἐν δόμοις,
 τίνος θεῶν βροτῶν τε πρευμενοῦς τυχῶν;
 κείνος δὲ δυσξύμβλητον ἐξήνεγκ' ὅπα. 10
 ἔσται μὲν, ἔσται παιδὸς ἄρσενος τόκος,
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου· πρῶτα γὰρ θήλυν σποράν
 φῦσαι δεήσει. κατὰ πῶς κείνη ποτέ
 εὐνήν κρυφαίαν γνοῦσα καὶ μὴ γνοῦσα δὴ 14
 ὑπόπετρον (Bentley ὑπόπτερον)λέοντα τέξεται πατρί,
 ὃς τῆσδέ γ' ἄρξει θατέρας (Porson τ' ἄρξει χάτέρας)
 πολλῆς χθονός.

It is incredible that an original composer (whether forger or no) should write *ἔρωτι παιδὸς ἄρσενος σχεθεῖς* in the sense 'possessed by desire of male offspring.' I am not sure in what sense the writer meant the words: I rather think that he was himself doubtful, and did not fully understand the version that he was adapting. Observe that Acrisius (l. 7) is represented as in person addressing Phoebus. Yet Phoebus replies (ll. 11-12):

ἔσται μὲν, ἔσται παιδὸς ἄρσενος τόκος,
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου.

Can *ἐκείνου*, in the third person, be Acrisius? Must it not in the adapter's mind mean *παιδὸς ἄρσενος*?

Be that as it may, no original composer would express himself in so grotesque a manner.

Further, it is clear (to go no further than the eleven lines which I have quoted) that the copyist is not himself

the adapter. *ὑπόπετρον* (l. 15) and *τῆσδέ γ' ἄρξει θατέρας* (l. 16) are sufficient proof.

I incline to the opinion that the iambic trimeters are an adaptation of a prose version. I find among them no clear trace of *versus politici*; nor indeed do I in the argument, though it is possible that the concluding words

τὸ βρέφος· ὅπερ ἀνδρωθὲν Περσεὺς ὠνομάσθη

may stand for

τὸ βρέφος· ὅπερ ἀνδρωθὲν Περσεὺς ἐπωνομάσθη.

But between ll. 48 and 64 comes a chorus, which is obviously not a paraphrase of prose. It runs :

τίς ὁ καινοτρόπος οὗτος μῦθος	
κατ' ἐμὴν ἦκεν ἀκουάν,	50
ἔνθ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα	
τοῖσδε δώμασι κοιράνου ἀμφίδοξος πελάζω ;	
τίς δεσπότην ἐμὴν Δανάην	
βάξιν ἔχει κατὰ πτόλιν ;	
ἦν μή ποτ' ὤφελ' εἰς ὧτα φέρειν	55
ὁ πρῶτος τάδε φράσαι τολμήσας,	
ὥς ἐγκύμων εἴληπται χρανθεῖσα λέκτροις	
ἀνδρός· πατήρ δέ μιν κλήσας	
ἐν παρθενῶσι σφραγίσιν δέμας φυλάσσει.	
ταῦτ' ἐτήτυμα μαθεῖν θέλω.	60
ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τύραννον χθονὸς τῆσδ'	
Ἀργείας, Ἀκρίσιον, πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα·	
ὀργῇ βαρύς, ὥς δόξαι, κέαρ.	

Now

πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα· ὀργῇ βαρύς, ὥς δόξαι, κέαρ

is a palpable *versus politicus*, and there are plain traces of *versus politici* elsewhere about the chorus. But it is no mere adaptation of *versus politici*: it teems with disguised fragments of elegiacs.

The natural conclusion is that the chorus, as composed by Euripides, was elegiac, that it was turned by some mediaeval parametrist into *versus politici*, and that our

adapter had before him a mixed medley of the two metres, in which neither was very clearly recognizable.

The political version may have run much as follows :

κατά μου ἦκεν ἀκουὰν τίς καινοτρόπος μῦθος,
 ἔνθ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα * * * * *
 τοῖσδε κοιράνου δώμασιν ἀμφίδοξος πελάζω ;
 δεσπότην μου Δανάην τίς ἔχει ἐν πόλει βάξις,
 βάξις, ἣν μή ποτ' ὠφέλεν εἰς ὧτα φέρειν, ὅστις
 ὁ πρῶτος τάδε * * * ἐτόλμησε νὰ φράσῃ ;
 ὅτι ἐγκύμων εἴληπται ἀνδρὸς χραυθεῖσα λέκτροις,
 ἐν παρθενώσει δὲ πατήρ κλήσας σφραγίσαι δέμας
 φυλάσσει. καὶ ἐτήτυμα θέλω νὰ μάθω ταῦτα.
 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τύραννον Ἀργείας γῆς Ἀκρίσιον,
 πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα· ὀργῇ βαρὺς, ὡς δόξαι, κέαρ.

ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα is an Epic interpolation of a violent kind. Probably the *versus politicus* was completed. When we come, in a moment, to attempt the reconstruction (as far as may be) of the elegiac original, we shall see that *ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα* interrupts the metre, and also that after l. 55 (of the existing text) a complete hexameter is missing.

It is a matter of remarkably little difficulty to build up on the basis of the *ductus* (of course the *ductus* is to be viewed in the light of all the circumstances) a strophic-antistrophic set of longs and shorts, which preserve strict syllabic correspondence, not only elsewhere but also at the ends of lines. I would ask the reader to compare the elegiac chorus in the *Andromache*. I will proceed to my presentment (it will be seen how I treat certain neologisms) :

τίς κατ' ἐμὰν ἀκοάν, καινὸς τίς ὄδ' ἤλυθε μῦθος,	στρ.
κοιράνου ἔνθ' οἴκοις ἀμφεδόκευσα πέλας ;	
τίς δέσποιναν ἐμὰν Δανάαν, τίς βάξις ἀν' ἄστν	
ἴσχει, οἴαν ὃ γε μῆδ' ὠφελ' ἐς ὧτα φέρειν,	
ἀλλὰ πάρος σιγῶν συναριθμεῖσθαι νεκύεσσιν,	
ὅστις πρῶτιστος ταῦτα φράσασθαι ἔτλα ;	
ἀνέρος ὡς ἀνόμοις χραυθεῖσα μιᾶστορος εὐναῖς	ἀντ.
ἔγκνος εἴληπται, χῶς μιν ἔκλησε πατήρ,	

χῶς ἐν παρθενεῶσι δέμας σφραγίσσι φυλάσσει.
 ὥς ἂν ἐτήτυμ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι μαθεῖν.
 ἀλλ' ἐσορῶ γὰρ γᾶς πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα τύραννον.
 ὀργᾷ δ', ὥς δόξαι, που βαρὺς ἐστι κέαρ.

It must not be supposed that reminiscences, or more even than reminiscences, of other plays occurring in the sixty-five lines of the *Danae* (chiefly in the trimeters) lend even a plausible support to the charge of forgery. They simply show that the adapter sought *communia dicere* in a really tragic manner.

The fragments of the *Danae* which have come down to us *aliunde* are from other parts of the play, and shed no light on any question connected with these sixty-five lines.

BACCHAE

This play has scantier MS. authority than any other of Euripides. It is preserved in its entirety in Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*) only. Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), and, as I understand, the apographs of *C*, contain ll. 1-755 only. There are no other MSS. of the play; but very considerable use has been made of it in the *Christus Patiens*.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 64-169)

This chorus presents two examples of my phenomenon, both in manifestly corrupt passages.

A

The last line of the first strophe is, as it stands, an ionic a minore dimeter: so is the last line of the first antistrophe, except for the fact that the final syllable of its first ionic is short instead of long. Moreover the two shorts of its second ionic appear as one long: hence an example of the disputed phenomenon.

The passages are these :

(a) ll. 67-8. κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον Βάκ-
-χιον εὐαζομένα θεόν

(b) ll. 71-2. τὰ νομισθέντα γὰρ αἰεὶ
Διόνυσον ὑμνήσω

In the strophe *B* omits θεόν, and so does the first hand of *C*. A diorthotes of *C* adds θεόν, and also (apparently as a result of dittography) τὸν between εὐκάματον and Βάκχιον.

The middle εὐαζομένα would doubtless be possible in Sophocles; but Euripides employs no such variations from the normal. Hermann was unquestionably right in proposing ἄζομένα.

Hence we arrive at the completely corresponding

(a) κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον Βάκ-
-χιον ἄζομένα θεόν

(b) τὰ νομισθέντα γὰρ αἰεὶ
Διόνυσον ὑμνήσω

The vowel *ũ* with *μν* following does not very often make a short syllable, but it is quite regularly capable of so doing; and when it does so, it usually causes perplexity or actual corruption, as I have occasion to observe in various portions of this tractate.

This part of the chorus is not wholly written in ionics: the restored metre of the clausulae is precisely identical with that of the first line of the first antistrophe (to which the first line of the first strophe has been accommodated *levissima emendatione* by Hermann).

But Hermann apparently failed to see that by suggesting ἄζομένα in the strophe he had successfully solved the whole problem of the clausulae. Harking back to the ionic metre at least (if not to the *ipsissima verba*) of

Βάκ-
-χιον εὐαζομένα θεόν,

he proposed in the antistrophe :

Διόνυσον κελαδήσω.

Nearly all editors have followed him, and the emendation has become a sort of *locus classicus* for those scholars who tamper with texts regardless of the *ductus literarum*.

Nauck eliminates *θεόν* (and in doing so he has the weight of MS. authority behind him; but that weight is here almost worthless), and reads :

Διόνυσον κελαδῶ.

This is worse than *κελαδήσω*.

B

In the fourth line of the third strophe the fourth syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the third antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts, and there is also a redundant short syllable, which latter fact proves corruption.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 108. *μίλακι καλλικάρπῳ*

(b) l. 123. *ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἐν ἄντροις*

Dobree removes the redundant short syllable, while leaving my phenomenon, though in another place in the line, by reading in the antistrophe :

τρικόρυθες ἔνθ' ἐν ἄντροις.

This gives the correspondence

(α) *μίλακι καλλικάρπῳ*

(b) *τρικόρυθες ἔνθ' ἐν ἄντροις*

It is clear that the *ἔνθα* of the MSS. cannot begin the antistrophic line: the previous line ends with a diphthong, which the strophe proves to remain long.

The antistrophic context runs :

*ὦ θαλάμειμα Κουρή-
-των ζάθεοί τε Κρήτας
Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι,*

ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἐν ἄντροις
 βυρσότονον κύκλωμα
 τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες ἤρουν.

125

Seeing that the worship of Cybele was both Cretan and Asiatic, and seeing that the tympanum is in this very play (ll. 58–59) described as native to Phrygia, I conclude that in this passage Euripides mentions both the Asiatic and the Cretan worship. Consequently I suggest that we should read :

Κώρυκέ τ', ἔνθ' ἐν ἄντροις.

For the connexion of Corycus with Bacchus see l. 559 of this play. A moderately learned copyist, aware that the Corycian cave was not in Crete but in Cilicia, and also aware that the Corybants wore κόρυθες (see Eustathius on the *Iliad*, p. 803. 58), would readily emend Κωρυκίοις, which would seem nonsense, into τρικόρυθες. But I am not sure that τρικόρυθες, even so, makes real sense. We learn from Eustathius (*l.c.*) that the κόρυθες of the Corybants were brims or peaks projecting over the eyes to keep off the sun. Why a Corybant should have worn three of these brims instead of one, I am unable to imagine; and, apart from this passage, I know of no authority for the statement that he did so.

It matters very little whether my emendation, or indeed any other emendation, be thought probable or improbable: what is important is the fact that the instance of my phenomenon presents itself in the midst of an obviously corrupted reading. It is of no authority.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 370–433)

A AND B

In the third line of the first strophe the first syllable is of doubtful quantity: it may be a long, in which case the two next syllables are scanned as one by synizesis; the long in question, if it be a long, is answered by two shorts in the first antistrophe: or the first two syllables of the strophic line may be short, and synizesis may be

absent, in which event the correspondence of the antistrophic line is at this point complete. The fourth and fifth syllables of the strophic line are two shorts: the antistrophic line substitutes one long.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 372. χρύσεια (or χρύσεᾶ) πτέρυγα φέρεις

(β) l. 388. τὸ τέλος δυστυχία

In the strophic line the accent of *χρύσεια* indicates that that word is not, as Matthiae suggests, a mistake for *χρυσέαν*, but that *πτέρυγα* is a corruption of *πτέρα* plus some other word, such as *γᾶν*. The context supports this view. It runs :

Ῥσία πότνα θεῶν, 370
Ῥσία δ' ἂ κατὰ γᾶν
χρύσεια πτέρυγα φέρεις,
τάδε Πενθέως ἄτεις ;

I somewhat confidently suggest :

Ῥσία πότνα θεῶν,
Ῥσία δ' ἂ κατ' ἐμὴν
χρύσεια πτέρα γᾶν φέρεις,
τάδε Πενθέως ἄτεις ;

In the antistrophe *δυστυχία* is certainly corrupt, because the next line begins with a vowel, and the strophe proves that a long syllable is required at the end.

The antistrophic context is :

ἀχαλίνων στομάτων
ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνας
τὸ τέλος δυστυχία .
ὁ δὲ τᾶς ἡσυχίας κτλ.

I propose to read :

τὸ τέλος διεδυστύχησ'.

An elided word is almost necessary for the scansion : in the context either a neuter adjective or a verb in the

third person singular appears to be necessary. No neuter adjective, with or without elision, can be made to scan, nor without elision will any third person singular do so.

I regard *διεδυστύχης* as having passed into *δυστυχία* under the influence of the word *ήσυχίας*, which stands immediately below it. These repetitions of syllables must be watched with a somewhat suspicious eye.

The demonstrable corruption of *δυστυχία*, whatever may be thought of emendations, deprives instance B of all its authority: instance A never had any.

C

In the fourteenth line of the second strophe the second syllable is a long: in the fourteenth line of the second antistrophe, this long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 415. *ἐκεῖ δὲ Βάκχαισι θέμις ὀργιάζειν*

(b) ll. 431-3. *ἐνόμισε χρῆταί τ', ἐν τῷδε λεγοίμην ἄν*
(so both *C* and *B*; but a corrector of *C* ends the line *τε, τόδε τοι λέγοιμ' ἄν*)

Nauck emends *Βάκχαισι* to *Βάκχαις*.

In a corrupt context of this sort it would require a bold man to affirm that the slightest reliance could be placed in an example of the phenomenon I am investigating, and that quite apart from the consideration of emendations. Let us consider the antistrophic context. It is as follows:

*σοφὰν δ' ἀπέχειν πραπίδα (B παρ' ἀσπίδα) φρένα τε
περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν.*

τὸ πλῆθος ὅτιπερ (so *C* and *B*: *ὅτι τε* a corrector of *C*: *ὅ τι* τὸ Brunck rightly) *φανλότερον
ἐνόμισε χρῆταί τ', ἐν τῷδε λεγοίμην ἄν.*

It is fairly obvious that the corrector of *C* is indulging in purely conjectural, and not very sound, emendation.

τόδε τοι λέγοιμ' ἄν could never have been corrupted into ἐν τῷδε λεγόμεν ἄν.

General protases in the indicative are rare: they become intolerable if, as here, one or more of the indicatives be in the aorist. ὅ τι ἐνόμισε can only mean 'whatever he (she or it) made current on a particular occasion.' The general protasis, in present consecution, is necessarily ὅ τι ἂν νομίση. But I think that here the consecution is past. λεγόμεν ἄν seems to me to point most naturally to a reading αἰὲν ᾤμην, standing for an original αἰὲν ᾤμαν. The ἄν is suggestive.

Have we not here the real origin of the proverb "vox populi vox Dei," and is not χρῆται a corruption of χρῆσαι? This assumption would enable us at once to read τὰδ' ἔτυμ' as the origin of τ' ἐν τῷδε. I take it that ἐνόμισε must stand for an optative.

On these grounds I propose:

τὸ πλήθος ὅ τι τὸ φαυλότερον
ἔλοιτο, χρῆσαι τὰδ' ἔτυμ' αἰὲν ᾤμαν.

'The choice of the common folk have I ever deemed the voice of a true oracle.'

The present tense is much the commonest in Greek to describe actions continued from the past into the present; but it is only the commonest, no embargo being laid on the use of the past tenses. Besides, the protasis complicates matters.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 519-603)

A AND B

In the fourth line of the first strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the fourth line of the first antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long. In the seventh line of the first strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are likewise two shorts: in the seventh line of the first antistrophe these two shorts are similarly replaced by one long.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 519-25. Ἀχελφῶν θύγατερ,
 πότνι' εὐπάρθενε Δίρκα, 520
 σὺ γὰρ ἐν σαῖς ποτε παγαῖς
 τὸ Διὸς βρέφος ἔλαβες,
 ὅτε μνηρῷ πυρὸς ἐξ ἀ-
 -θανάτου Ζεὺς ὁ τεκὼν ἦρ-
 -πασέ νιν, τὰδ' ἀναβοάσας. 525
- (b) ll. 537-44. οἶαν οἶαν ὀργάν } Corrupted out
 ἀναφαίνει χθόνιον } of one line.
 γένος ἐκφύς τε δράκοντός
 ποτε Πενθεύς, ὃν Ἐχίων 540
 ἐφύτευσε χθόνιος,
 ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶ-
 -τα βρότειον, φόνιον δ' ὦσ-
 -τε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς.

Though except in *C* no scholiast's annotations of the *Bacchae* seem to exist, and even in *C* only eight such annotations in all, it is a little remarkable to find that three of these deal with the above lines. On βρέφος in l. 522 the scholiast writes ἀντὶ μιᾶς, on τὰδ' ἀν- in l. 525 he again writes ἀντὶ μιᾶς (though editors have misunderstood him to mean the words as a note on the syllables -βοάσ-), and on l. 537 he writes οἶαν· περισσόν. Of course ἀντὶ μιᾶς is the note, familiar enough in the Triclinian MSS. of Aeschylus, which indicates the occurrence of an example of my phenomenon.

The strophe and antistrophe with which we are dealing are written almost entirely in the ionic a minore metre. It is necessary to be stricter as to the observance of the laws of this metre than editors have thought.

An instructive measure of the extent to which corruption is present is afforded by the first line of the strophe, which thus strikes a useful keynote.

Dirce was not the daughter of Achelous, but of Helios. Consequently it is apparent that the **X** of **ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΥ** is a dittography of the initial **A**, this corruption being very probably uncial, and that we ought to read Ἀελίου.

In l. 522 it is extremely difficult to assign to ἔλαβες a reasonable sense that will suit the context, and the metre is ridiculous.

In l. 538 we have χθόνιον, and in l. 541 (part of the same sentence) we have χθόνιος: the former is probably an insertion.

I propose to read, very largely in order to make the ionics scan, the following:

- (α) Ἀελίου θύγατερ φαέθοντος,
 πόντι' εὐπάρθενε Δίρκα, 520
 σὺ γὰρ ἔρνος ποτὲ παγαῖς
 τὸ Διὸς βρέξας ἐλαφραῖς,
 ὅτε μηρῷ πυρρὸς ἐξ ἄ-
 -θανάτου Ζεὺς ὁ τεκῶν ἄρ-
 -πασεν, ἀνταῖα βοάσας. 525
- (β) οἶον ἄρ' οἶον ὁ γᾶς ἀναφαίνει
 γένος ἐκφύς τε δράκοντός
 ποτε Πενθεύς, ὃν Ἐχίων 540
 ἐφύτευσε, χθόνιος θήρ,
 ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶ-
 -τα βρότειον, φόνιον δ' ὦσ-
 -τε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς.

I translate ἀνταῖα βοάσας 'with a trenchant shout,' and suggest that ἀνταῖα itself was misread as ἀντὶ μιᾶς and so helped to perpetuate the other misreading νιν τὰδ' ἀναβοάσας. One must always be alive to the possibility of two separate corruptions of the same original appearing in the text side by side.

I imagine that the somewhat similar final θεοῖς of l. 544 caused the final θήρ of l. 541 to disappear.

There is necessarily a great deal of uncertainty with regard to my suggestions; but, looking at the whole context and at Ἀχελῷον in particular, will any reasonable man maintain that the possibility of the phenomenon I am discussing receives any real support from the existence of two examples in a strophe and antistrophe such as those with which we are confronted?

C, D, E AND F

After the recognized strophe and antistrophe occurs a series of twenty lines, which are usually considered to form an epode. They are in the ionic a minore metre, but I think that the presence of clausulae of a different metre is distinctly discernible in the tenth and twentieth lines. I therefore divide into strophe and antistrophe, and find in doing so four examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. The strophe and antistrophe each contain, putting the clausulae on one side, eighteen ionic a minore feet, except that the antistrophe towards the end has become somewhat seriously corrupt, so that three of the feet have been disguised almost beyond recognition.

The lines run in the MSS. :

πόθι Νύσης ἄρα τᾶς θη-
 -ροτρόφου θυρσοφορεῖς (C θυρσοφοραῖον, with εἰ
 written underneath the αἰ)
 θιάσους, ὦ Διόνυσε, ἦ
 κορυφαῖς (κοροφῆς B) Κωρυκίαις ;
 τάχα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολυδένδροι- 560
 -σιν (so a corrector of C: C itself reads
 πολυδένδρεσιν: B πολυδένδραισιν) Ὀλυμπον
 (Kirchhoff rightly Ὀλύμπου) θαλάμοις (Barnes
 rightly θαλάμαις), ἐν-
 -θα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων
 σύναγεν δένδρεα μούσαις,
 σύναγεν θήρας ἀγρώτας.
 μάκαιρ' ὦ Πιερία, 565
 σέβεται σ' Εὐῖος, ἥξει
 τε χορεύσων ἄμα βακχευ-
 -μασι, τόν τ' ὠκυρόαν (B ὠκυρίαν)
 διαβὰς Ἀξιὸν εἰλίσ-
 -σομένας (B εἰλησσομένας) τε Μαινάδας ἄξει, 570
 Λυδίαν τε, τὸν εὐδαιμονίας
 βροτοῖς ὀλβοδόταν
 πατέρα τε, τὸν ἔκλυον
 εὐῖππον (C εὐίον for εὐῖππον) χώραν ὕδασι
 καλλίστοισι λιπαίνειν. 575

I propose to read :

πόθι Νύσας ἄρα τᾶς θη-	στρ. β'
-ροτρόφου, θυρσοφόρ', εἶρεις	
θιάσους, ὦ Διόνυσ', ἧ	
κορυφαῖς Κωρυκίαισιν ;	
τάχα δ' ἐν ταῖς πολυδένδροι-	580
-σιν Ὀλύμπου θαλάμαις, ἐν-	
-θα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων	
σύνναγεν δένδρεα μούσαις,	
σύνναγεν θήρας ἀγρώτας.	
μάκαιρ' ὦ Πιερία γᾶ.	585
σέβεται σ' Εὐνιος, ἥξει	ἀντ. β'
τε χορεύσων ἅμα βακχεύ-	
-μασι, τόν τ' ὠκυρέεθρον	
διαβὰς Ἀξιὸν εἰλίσ-	
-σομένας Μαινάδας ἄξει	570
πολυδινᾶντα, τὸν εὐδαί-	
-μονος αἴσας ἀρόταις ὀλ-	
-βοδόταν, Ἀπιδανόν τ' εὐ-	
-τεκνον εὐιππον ὃς ὄρχμᾶν	
διεκλλίταισι λιπαίνει.	575

In ll. 557-8 the expression *θυρσοφορεῖς θιάσους* appears to be impossible. The use of the internal accusative is by no means unrestricted, and to justify it in this passage it would be necessary to attach to the verb *θυρσοφορεῖν* the meaning of *θιασεύειν* (in its later sense 'to celebrate a *θίασος*'). It is not enough that one word should be somewhat cognate in meaning to another in order to justify its taking the other's construction. Sophocles indeed takes licences in this respect, but I question whether even he could have written the phrase with which Euripides is here credited. I suggest *θυρσοφόρ' εἶρεις* because that combination would by haplography easily pass into *θυρσοφορεῖς*, and because *εἰλίσσειν θιάσους* occurs (*Iphigenia in Tauris* 1145-6). Moreover I am half inclined to suspect a reference to the first syllable of *Εἰραφιώτης*.

In l. 559 the change of *Κωρυκίαις* to *Κωρυκίαισιν* is very slight, and the same may be said of the addition of *γᾶ* to *Πιερία* in l. 565.

It is in what I consider to be the antistrophe that difficulties arise.

In l. 568 I have written ὠκυρέεθρον in place of ὠκυρόαν. I think this is justified by the consideration that ὠκυρέεθρον lends itself to haplography, and that Θ and Ο are extremely liable to be confused.

In l. 571 it is impossible to scan Λυδίαν in Ionic verse without the aid of anacalasis. In the first strophe and antistrophe there is certainly some use of anacalasis; but I am not prepared to admit that an ionic a minore system can arbitrarily have an isolated anacalasis pitchforked into it. The anacalases in the earlier portion of this chorus are systematic and connected, though the first antistrophe has been a little corrupted in this respect. It is rather doubtful whether a river of the name Λυδίας really existed. It is true that we once read of it in our existing texts of Herodotus, Scylax, and Ptolemy, as also once in Aeschines; but all this seems to be due to the copyists, who naturally thought of Λυδός and Λυδία. In the passage from Aeschines not Λυδίαν but Λοιδίαν was read by Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas—a very strong combination. Moreover not Λυδίας but Λονδίας, which seems to be a corruption of Λοιδίας, occurs thrice in the text of Strabo. See Dindorf's Stephanus. On the whole I am fairly confident that Λυδίαν τε is an ingenious corruption of πολυδινᾶντα, in agreement with Ἀξιόν.

In the same line and the next, it seems to me extremely strange to speak of any river as εὐδαιμονίας βροτοῖς ὀλβοδόταν. I think that we should almost certainly alter βροτοῖς into ἀρόταις, 'to plowmen.' I am inclined to regard εὐδαιμονίας as an haplography of εὐδαίμονος αἶσας.

In l. 573 πατέρα τε, without a statement of the river's name, is absurd. No one could be expected to know the name of the "father" either of the Loedias or of the Axios. Editors quote *Hecuba* 450-4:

ἡ Δωρίδος ὄρμον αἶσας
 ἡ Φθιάδος, ἔνθα καλλί-
 -στων ὑδάτων πατέρα
 φασὶν Ἀπιδανὸν πεδία λιπαίνειν;

That passage is really quite different, because Apidanus is mentioned by name. But an interlineation of it, as a cognate passage, has caused great confusion in our text. From the interlineation we have doubtless derived *πατέρα*, which has ousted Ἀπιδανόν, ἔκλυνον, which was suggested by φασίν, and ὕδασιν, which is a modification of the interlineated ἰδάτων. I suggest confidently (as far as one can be confident in such a tangle):

Ἀπιδανόν τ' εὖ-
-τεκνον εὐιππον δς ὄρχμᾶν
δικελλίταισι λιπαίνει.

I think that what gave the interlineated *πατέρα* its first foothold in the text was the presence of εὐτεκνον (later corrupted into -όν ἔκλυνον), which was taken to refer not to its proper substantive but to Apidanus himself. ὄρχμᾶν is necessarily uncertain, but I know of no other word that will scan so near to the *ductus literarum* of *χώραν*.

δικελλίταισι for καλλίστοισι seems to me to be almost necessary for the balance of the passage. The Axius brought wealth to plowmen (l. 572): the Apidanus brought fertility of soil to mattockmen. I am almost certain that Euripides is thinking of *Iliad* xxi. 257-9:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον ἡγεμονεύη,
χερσὶ μάκελλαν ἔχων, ἀμάρης ἐξ ἔχματα βάλλων.

It is this passage chiefly, with its ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους, that emboldens me with regard to ὄρχμᾶν. I take Euripides to be describing the neighbourhood of the Apidanus as a 'garden-land' made fertile by irrigation.

The word *δικελλίτης* occurs in the eighth chapter of Lucian's *Timo*. Lucian is no bad authority, though of course he sometimes made mistakes, for the classical character of the words he uses.

If my contentions are approximately correct, the instances of the phenomenon which I am investigating are as follows.

C

The eleventh ionic a minore of the strophe is regular : in the antistrophe we find a cretic. Consequently the two shorts of the strophic ionic a minore may be regarded as answered by the first long of the antistrophic cretic.

The lines are :

- (a) l. 561. πολυδένδροι-
 -σιν Ὀλύμπου θαλάμοις, ἔν-
 -θα
 (b) l. 571. Λυδίαν τε, τὸν εὐδαιμονίας

D AND E

The sixteenth ionic a minore of the strophe is regular : in the antistrophe we find at this point six short syllables. Consequently the first of the two longs of the strophic ionic may be taken as answered by the third and fourth shorts of the antistrophic resolved ionic, and the final long of the strophic ionic by the fifth and sixth shorts of the antistrophic resolved ionic.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 563. σύναγεν δένδρεα μούσαις
 (b) l. 573. πατέρα τε, τὸν ἔκλυον

F

The eighteenth ionic a minore of the strophe is regular : in the antistrophe we have to match it three longs followed by an anapaest. Consequently it is possible to take the first long of the strophic ionic as answered by the two shorts of the antistrophic anapaest.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 564. σύναγεν θῆρας ἀγρώτας
 (b) l. 574. εὐπιπὸν χώραν ὑδασιν (a consonant begins
 the next line)

C, D, E and F are all incidentally dealt with above. Assuming that I am right in dividing into strophe

and antistrophe, I do not think that any human being can attach the slightest importance to any one of these four instances. I think that I am right in making the division. But if I am not, there are necessarily no instances to consider. Therefore in either case I am safe. Either I produce four instances of the phenomenon in outrageous surroundings, and so score a point; or else I am dealing with a passage on which from its very nature I can neither gain nor lose in the slightest degree.

The rest of this chorus ought almost certainly to be divided into a third strophe and antistrophe, or possibly two strophes and antistrophes, composed, at least mainly, in dochmiacs, though perhaps in part in ionics a minore; but after mature consideration I have come to the conclusion that it is a task completely beyond my power to bring the text into sufficient order to discover whether or no it conceals examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. It is impossible, at least for me, to indicate even with a low degree of probability the correspondence between the dochmii or corrupted dochmii. A considerable portion of the lyrics in question seems to me to be in all probability a complete rewriting based on the *ductus literarum* of an appallingly corrupt text. I believe the result to be that the Euripidean original has as good as perished. That being my view, I will not waste the reader's time. I trust that nowhere in this book I have attempted or shall attempt emendation as a mere exercise of gymnastic. Such an occupation may be interesting, and even propaedeutically useful; but it is better as a rule to pursue it in private.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 862-911)

Immediately before this chorus (l. 860) Wecklein emends *ἐν τέλει* into *ἐλλέροις*. Professor Tyrrell characterizes this emendation as "perhaps indeed the worst suggestion ever made on a classical text," and adds that "it is not in the least like *ἐν τέλει*, and could not possibly have given rise to that reading." Considering that the next word is *θεὸς*, I am not at all sure that in uncials

ΕΛΛΕΡΟΙCΘΕΟC may not very well have produced something that was taken for *ἐν τέλει θεός*, with the *θεός* written twice over. Moreover the fact that *ἐλλέροις* seems to mean 'wild beasts' (on which point I quite agree with Professor Tyrrell's argument) seems to me to make in Wecklein's favour. The word is in strong contrast to *ἀνθρώποισι* in l. 861, and the 'wild beast' in question is Pentheus, *ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον* (ll. 542-3). I cannot say that I regard Wecklein's conjecture as invested with any higher probability than a number of tentative emendations of various passages that I have myself thrown out; but I venture with all respect to oppose Professor Tyrrell's view that emendations of such a class are to be ruled out of court. No doubt they ought to be kept in a separate line of footnotes as uncertain suggestions; but so also ought a vast number of readings which now appear not in footnotes at all, but in the actual text of the best authors. In my humble opinion, Wecklein is a scholar of too great eminence to be treated even by Professor Tyrrell in so summary a manner, and I hardly think that the latter can have appreciated, at least at the moment of writing, what is meant by the *ductus literarum*.

I have made this digression, because I consider the matter to have a direct bearing on a great deal of the contents of this treatise, and because British scholars, in their anxiety, no doubt, to arrive at demonstrable truth, seem to me to have committed a grave error in rejecting the lawful use of the enthymeme as opposed to the syllogism.

In the fourth line of the strophe of the fourth chorus the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: in the fourth line of the antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are:

(α) l. 865. *εἰς αἰθέρα δροσερὸν*

(β) l. 885. *τούς τ' ἀγνωμοσύναν*

I have no hesitation in reading the strophic line thus:

εἰς αἶθραν δροσερὸν

I regard the apparently masculine *δροσερόν* as at the root of the corruption. If the depravation be uncial, it would be helped by the similarity of the letters **Ν** and **Δ**.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 977-1023)

The chorus is dochmiac, and has been considerably corrupted. It is open to question whether the prevalent corruption of dochmiacs is due to false theories of dochmiac scansion having played havoc with a text already slightly unsound and calling for some measure of correction, or whether it gives us the measure of the general corruption of most choruses in all metres in the less well preserved plays. I somewhat incline to the latter view, which is not altogether exclusive of the former: wherever we get fixed metres, as opposed to logaoedics and the like which are governed rather by principles than by rules, we are apt to find the rules broken in our existing text. These violations of rule are so frequently associated with obscurities of sense and awkwardnesses of diction, as to create a strong presumption that the whole mass of them are non-original. But if that is so, then it seems to follow that a vast number of lines written in the more fluid metres are also likely to have been changed from their original form, though in such cases it is always difficult and often impossible to apply a rigid metrical test.

Fortunately this chorus is not so corrupt as to necessitate a minute investigation of the whole in order to discover which dochmius in the strophe is answered by which dochmius in the antistrophe as a preliminary to pointing out examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. The general structure has hardly been disturbed at all, and the instances I am seeking lie on or very near the surface. They are four in number.

A

In the second line of the strophe the second dochmius is of the form $\cup - - \cup -$: in the second line of the antistrophe

the second dochmius is of the impossible form $\cup\cup--\cup-$. This produces no correspondence at all; but by the addition of an epheleystic ν in the strophe we are able to secure correspondence at once by converting the strophic dochmius into $---\cup-$, which, though impossible, is as good a dochmius as that in the antistrophe, and possibly is the real explanation of the origin of the antistrophic reading.

The lines are these :

- (a) 1. 978. *θίασον ἔνθ' ἔχουσι Κάδμου κόραι*
 (Perhaps at one stage *θίασον ἔνθ' ἔχουσιν Κάδμου κόραι*)
 (b) 1. 998. *περὶ* (Scaliger rightly inserts *σά*.) *Βάκχι', ὄργια*
ματρὸς τε σᾶς

Editors have gravely assumed that *ὄργια* can be scanned as a trochee, and so scanned, if you please, by synizesis. Nothing is more certain than that the result of synizesis is a long syllable. The consonantalization of ι is not synizesis, but is, I firmly believe, a phenomenon unknown to classical Greek. The Aeolic change of $\delta\iota$ into ζ was doubtless inherited from prehistoric times. It is doubtful whether Aeschylus did or did not use *κάρζα* (*καρδία*). If he did, he aeolized. The occurrence of an aeolism in Aeschylus can in any case be no authority for the consonantalization of an ι in Euripides.

Elmsley is probably right in reading *ἔργα* for *ὄργια*.

It is to be observed that the previous line ends with an unmetrical *ὄργᾱ*. I shall not attempt the emendation of that line, but the *ὄργᾱ* is not improbably the remains of an interlineated *ἔργα*, meant as a correction of *ὄργια*, but misunderstood.

B

In the sixth line of the strophe the second dochmius is of the incorrect form $--\cup\cup\cup-$: in the sixth line of the antistrophe the second dochmius is of the correct form $\cup\cup\cup\cup-$. Hence we have one example of my phenomenon, and one non-correspondent syllable.

These are the lines :

- (α) l. 982. *μάτηρ πρῶτά νιν λευρᾶς ἀπὸ πέτρας*
 (β) l. 1002. *γνώμαν σῶφρονα θάνατος ἀπροφάσιστ-*
-ος

These two lines cannot be brought into real harmony without the aid of the context. The context is :

- (α) ll. 979-84. *ἀνοιστρήσατέ νιν*
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμῳ στολᾷ 980
Μαινάδων κατάσκοπον λυσσώδη.
μάτηρ πρῶτά νιν λευρᾶς ἀπὸ πέτρας
ἢ σκόλοπος ὄψεται
δοκεύοντα, Μαινάσιν δ' ἀπύσει.
 (β) ll. 999-1004. *μανεῖσα* (Brodaeus rightly *μανεῖσα*)
πραπίδι
παρακόπῳ τε λήματι στέλλεται, 1000
τὰν ἀνίκατον ὥς κρατήσων βίᾳ.
γνώμαν σῶφρονα θάνατος ἀπροφάσιστ-
-ος εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφν,
βροτείῳ τ' ἔχειν ἄλυπος βίος.

It is obvious that neither the strophic nor the antistrophic lines are by any means metrically perfect. In addition, the latter portion of the antistrophic passage yields no sense ; neither do various emendations that have been proposed.

It is no doubt impossible to do more than approximate to the real words of Euripides. For my own part I suggest :

- (α) *ἀνοιστρήσατέ νιν*
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμῳ στόλᾳ 980
μαινάδα Μαινάδων κατ' ἄλσος σκοπόν.
πρῶτα μὲν ἂ τεκοῦς' ἀερίον ἄρ' ὑπὲρ
λέπας σφ' ὄψεται
δοκεύοντα, καὶ τοιάδε πεύσεται.
 (β) *μανεῖσα πραπίδι*
παρακόπῳ τε λήματι στέλλεται, 1000
πάντα δίκας ἄνευ πατήσων βίᾳ.

μνῶμαι ἐγὼ φρόνιν· θάνατος ἀπροφάσις-
 -ός ἐστιν· τὰ θεῶν
 ὑβρίζοντος οὐκ ἐνδελεχῆς βίος.

The only point to which I will call special attention is the possibility of the shortening in Euripides of the *a* of *ἀερίος*. That possibility is sufficiently proved by *ἄέλιος*.

I invite the reader to study the vulgate carefully. He will find abundant proof of exact syllabic correspondence, and also abundant disproof in the most bewildering proximity. The key to the position is to be found in the fact that the disproof occurs in places where either strophe and antistrophe or both are shown palpably to be corrupt by other arguments than those based on the exactitude of correspondence.

My reconstitution must almost certainly be wrong in various particulars. That is a matter of little importance. The passage speaks for itself as to the surroundings in which instances of my phenomenon and of cognate phenomena are to be found.

C AND D

The tenth line of the strophe and antistrophe is a dochmius. In the strophic line it is of the form --○○○○--; in the antistrophic line it is of the form ----- . Hence there are two instances of my phenomenon.

The lines run :

(a) l. 986. μαστήρ ὀριοδρόμων

(b) l. 1006. χαίρω θηρέουσ-

-a

Kirchhoff very properly emended *ὀριοδρόμων*, which is a *vox nihili*, into *ὀριδρόμων*. But that is only a partial solution of the difficulty. *μαστήρ*, of course, will not scan. We must read its equivalent *ματήρ*.

The antistrophic context is :

τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ

χαίρω θηρέουσ-

-a, τὰ δ' ἕτερα μεγάλα κτλ.

1005

Without carrying emendation, however much it may be needed, into lines further afield, I would read here :

τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ
 σαροῦν, θεραπνὶς οὐσ-
 -α, τὰ θ' ἕτερα μεγάλα κτλ.

Something of this sort is imperatively demanded. Editors have made the mistake of imagining that the chorus is repudiating pursuit of τὸ σοφόν, but surely τὸ σοφόν must mean 'true wisdom.' See my emendation, under B, *μῶμαι ἐγὼ φρόνιν*.

I take *σαροῦν* to be simply a poetical equivalent of *νεωκορεῖν*. But I must not be understood as expressing any opinion with regard to the true etymology of the latter word. Something a little derogatory in its nature is to be expected as the infinitive after οὐ φθονῶ. I think that *σαροῦν* is a word of just the required character.

Here again I would invite the reader's attention to the absolute impossibility of retaining the vulgate reading which enshrines instances of my phenomenon. The *Bacchae* is singularly useful to me in this respect.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1034-1042)

A real, though very brief, choric interruption occurs at this point.

ll. 1029-42 run thus in the MSS. :

XO. τί δ' ἔστιν ; ἐκ Βακχῶν τι μῆνύεις νέον ;
 ΑΓΓ. Πενθεὺς ὄλωλε, παῖς Ἐχίονος πατρός. 1030

XO. ὦναξ Βρόμιε· θεὸς φαίνει μέγας.
 ΑΓΓ. πῶς φῆς ; τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας ; ἢ 'πὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 χαίρεις κακῶς πράσσουσι δεσπόταις, γύναι ;

XO. εὐάζω ξένα μέλεσι βαρβάροις·
 οὐκέτι γὰρ δεσμῶν ὑπὸ φόβῳ πτήσσω. 1035

ΑΓΓ. Θήβας δ' ἀνάνδρους ὧδ' ἄγεις ;
 XO. ὁ Διόνυσος ὁ Διόνυσος, οὐ Θήβαι
 κράτος ἔχουσ' ἐμόν.

ΑΓΓ. συγγνωστὰ μὲν σοι, πλὴν ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις
 κακοῖσι χαίρειν, ὦ γυναῖκες, οὐ καλόν. 1040

ΧΟ. ἔνεπέ μοι, φράσον, τίνι μόρῳ θνήσκει
 ἄδικος ἄδικά τ' ἐκπορίζων ἀνὴρ ;

These lines are extremely perplexing.

In l. 1031 Hermann doubles the *θεός*. The result is impossible, whether considered as an Euripidean senarius or as a dochmiac dipody. It seems to me that what is wanting, considering the run of the metre, is the first foot and half the second foot of a trimeter. I should like to read something of this kind :

ὦ Βρόμι', ἔμ' ὦναξ Βρόμιε, θεὸς φαίνει μέγας.

It seems clear that l. 1036 is a mutilated trimeter. If so, ll. 1037-8 cannot be really dochmiac, but must be the remains of another trimeter. Otherwise l. 1036 would be an isolated stichomythic trimeter with no other stichomythic trimeter to support it.

This argument is greatly helped by the fact that in l. 1038 *κράτος ἔχουσ' ἐμόν* is very strange Greek, and by the fact that it is reasonable to suppose that the first *ὁ Διόνυσος* in l. 1037 represents the missing feet of l. 1036.

We therefore may rewrite conjecturally ll. 1037-8 thus :

ἐμόν ὁ Διόνυσός ἐστιν, οὐ Θῆβαι, κράτος.

If this treatment be approximately correct, we must supply in l. 1036 something resembling *ὁ Διόνυσος*. In view of the use of *ἄγειν* in the 34th line of the *Antigone* (*τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἄγειν οὐχ ὡς παρ' οὐδέν*) I tentatively suggest :

Θήβας δ' ἀνάνδρους χῶς παρ' οὐδέν ὧδ' ἄγεις ;

All this is of course very problematical in detail ; but some similar treatment in bulk must almost necessarily be adopted.

The net result is to leave us with two, and two only, dochmiac or would-be dochmiac couplets :

(α) ll. 1034-5. εὐάζω ξένα μέλεσι βαρβάρους .

οὐκέτι γὰρ δεσμῶν ὑπὸ φόβῳ πτήσσω

(β) ll. 1041-2. ἔνεπέ μοι, φράσον, τίνι μόρῳ θνήσκει
 ἄδικος ἄδικά τ' ἐκπορίζων ἀνὴρ ;

A, B AND C

Assuming, as I feel bound to assume, that these two couplets are strophe and antistrophe, I find in them three instances of the phenomenon I am investigating, thus :

- (α) εὐάζω ξένα μέλεσι βαρβάροις . στρ.
οὐκέτι γὰρ δεσμῶν ὑπὸ φόβῳ πτήσσω
(β) ἔνεπέ μοι, φράσον, τίνι μόρῳ θνήσκει ἀντ.
ἄδικος ἄδικά τ' ἐκπορίζων ἀνὴρ ;

It is very difficult to know what to do with dochmiacs so corrupt as these. The one practical certainty (owing to the hiatus) is that θνήσκει ἄδικος stands either for τέθνακ' ἄδικος or τέθναχ' ἄδικος (i.e. ὁ ἄδικος).

It seems to be quite impossible to recover the original with the slightest degree of certainty. I would suggest as a possibility :

- (α) εὖι' ἰάξαμεν μέλεσι βαρβάροις . στρ.
οὐκέτι γὰρ ἀέθλων πτοοῦμαι φόβῳ
(β) ἔννεπέ (so Nauck) μοι, φράσον, τίνι μόρῳ τέθναχ' ἀντ.
ἄδικος ἄδικά τ' ἐκπορίζων ἀνὴρ ;

The uncertainty of emendation does not lend any support to the instances I have been discussing : the metre is intolerable.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1153-1199)

It seems not to have been observed that ll. 1153-64 constitute a strophe and antistrophe. The strophe extends from l. 1153 to l. 1158, the antistrophe from l. 1159 to l. 1165. The metre is logaoedic, but might in places easily be mistaken for dochmiac. Corruptions, not of a very serious order, have obscured the correspondence. It is impossible to emend with certainty in detail, but there is little or no uncertainty as regards general outlines.

The passage runs thus in *B* (the sole authority for this part of the *Bacchae*):

ΧΟ. ἀναχορεύσωμεν Βακχείων,
 ἀναβοάσωμεν ξυμφορὰν
 τὰν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκγενέτα Πενθέως, 1155
 ὃς τὰν θηλυγενῇ στολὰν
 νάρθηκά τε πιστὸν "Αἶδαν
 ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον,
 ταῦρον προσηγητῆρα συμφορᾶς ἔχων.
 Βάκχαι Καδμεΐαι, 1160
 τὸν καλλίνικον κλεινὸν ἐξεπράξατο
 ἐς γόνον, ἐς δάκρυα.
 καλὸς ἀγὼν ἐν αἵματι στάζουσαν
 χέρα περιβαλεῖν τέκνον.

I suggest :

ΧΟ. ἀναχορεύσωμεν τὰ Βάκχει', ἀναβοήσωμεν
 φθορὰν στρ. α'
 τὰν τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκγενέτα
 Πενθέος, ὃς τὰν 1155
 θηλυγενῇ στολὰν
 νάρθηκά τ' εἰς τὸν "Αἶδαν
 ἔλαβεν εὐθυρσον.
 λῆμα γαῦρον ἡγητῆρα ξυμφορᾶς ἔχω πάλαι. ἀντ. α'
 τὸ καλλίνικον ἐξεπέρασ' 1160
 ἐς γόνον, ἐς δάκ-
 -ρυμα· καλὸς δ' ἀγὼν
 ἐν αἵματι στάζουσαν
 πατέρ' ἐλεῖν τέκνον.

In l. 1157 I feel convinced that πιστὸν should be εἰς τὸν. The correction suits both sense and *ductus*.

I am sorry to disturb l. 1159, because all references or apparent references to theromorphic deities in Greek literature are interesting. But is it not obvious that not a bull but pride was what went before Pentheus' fall? I put the word πάλαι at the end of the line in order to give a reason for the interpolation of Βάκχαι Καδμεΐαι. I suggest that by the alteration of γαῦρον to ταῦρον it was rendered impossible to understand πάλαι, and that in consequence

two separate expansions of that word, with some regard to its *ductus literarum*, were made, and that the ultimate result was Βάκχαι Καδμείαι. I may say in passing that I am by no means convinced that the word Βάκχαι will scan in some of the places where it occurs in this play. The question does not concern my subject matter, but I have been led to wonder whether, in view of the Theban locale of the plot, Euripides permitted himself to write the Boeotian βάναι. The first syllable of βανά seems to be short where it occurs in Corinna, and it would undoubtedly give local colour. An English dramatist could, without incurring the reproach of polyglottic composition, well employ the expression 'señora' if he laid his scene at Madrid.

In ll. 1161-2 ἐξεπράξατο stands *in hiatus*, is wellnigh untranslatable, and is not a word after which it is reasonably possible to use the ἐς of result. A verb meaning 'ending in,' 'resulting in,' is necessary to justify the ἐς. Such a verb is ἐκπερᾶν. I read :

τὸ καλλίνικον ἐξεπέρασ'.

My contention is that κλεινὸν is a gloss on καλλίνικον. This gloss was mistaken for a correction, by way of addition, and ἐξεπέρασ' was changed into ἐξεπράξατο. The plain reason for both corruptions is the fact that they make the line where they occur into an iambic trimeter.

In l. 1164 I suggest that πατέρ' ἐλεῖν passed into χέρα περιβαλεῖν under the influence of an interlineation of *Medea* 1254 :

τέκνοις προσβαλεῖν χέρ' αὐτοκτόνον.

πατέρα seems to me essential to the sense. I do not think that the feminine στάζουσιν casts even the slightest suspicion on the neuter τέκνον. The usage is idiomatic. I think it was Thomas Evans who wrote the excellent line:

κρέματα δὲ νάρθηξ, ὧ τεταρταῖοι βρέφη.

Waiving the question of the intrinsic probability of the details of my emendations, I would point out that there is nothing whatever to indicate the existence in this strophe

and antistrophe of any instances of the phenomenon for which I am searching, except in the trochaic tetrameters with which the strophe and antistrophe open. These can hardly be reconstituted in any way other than that in which I have reconstituted them. A valuable guide to the restoration of corrupt trochaic tetrameters is the sound rule which demands of necessity a diaeresis at the end of the fourth trochee. This rule will be found by experiment to preclude other *prima facie* easy methods of restoring the antistrophic tetrameter.

Consequently the second place in the two tetrameters where two shorts in the strophe are answered by one long in the antistrophe on my readings seems to yield a fairly certain example. The instance at the beginnings of the lines is much more doubtful. But seeing that *ἀνα-* occurs twice in the strophic line, and that the second time it is answered by one long in the antistrophe, symmetry appears to require that the first time it occurs it should be similarly answered.

It is important to observe that my theory has no application whatever to trochaic tetrameters, whether masquerading as parts of chori or not, unless—the rarest thing in the world—the tetrameters are truly lyric, and therefore written in Doric. This being so, I regard the instances (or at any rate the latter instance) as Euripidean. But this has led me to an emendation slight but important. It is necessary to change the Doric *ἀναβοάσωμεν* into the Attic *ἀναβοήσωμεν*.

The second strophe and antistrophe are in parts extremely corrupt, and appear to have been made to agree with one another, after corruption, by copyists ignorant of the laws of metre, and signally ignorant of the laws of hiatus; but there are in them no instances of the phenomenon into which I am inquiring.

SUMMARY

The *Bacchae* presents eighteen examples of the phenomenon in question, and one other instance arises from emendation. Four examples are manifestly corrupt,

two of them occurring in one line in a *vox nihili*: three other sets of two each present themselves within the compass of single lines. The eight other examples are less manifestly depraved.

CYCLOPS

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*).

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 41–81)

There are several irregularities of correspondence, and apparently six lines of the antistrophe have perished; but there are no instances of the phenomenon I am investigating.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 356–374)

As it stands, this chorus is anomoeostrophic; but Hermann, with great probability, though not without questionable emendation in places, reduces it to a strophe, a mesode, and an antistrophe. I may observe that certain antistrophic echoes seem strongly to confirm the general scheme of Hermann's arrangement.

If Hermann is right, it follows that the chorus presents one apparent (but, I think, owing to the possibility of synizesis, not real) instance of the correspondence I am investigating.

The fifth line of the assumed strophe begins with two short syllables, which, however, can be scanned as one long: the fifth line of the assumed antistrophe presents in the corresponding place one long.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 360. *κρεοκοπεῖν μέλη ξένων*

(b) l. 374. *θέρμ' ἀπ' ἀνθράκων κρέα*

The *locus classicus* with regard to κρεο- (as distinguished from the later κρεω-) compounds is in Porson's preface to the *Hecuba*. There is no doubt but that κρεοκοπεῖν, not κρεωκοπεῖν, is the right reading here; but I can see no possible reason why we should not scan κρεοκοπεῖν.

There is nothing demonstrative about Aeschylus' *Persae* 463, but there also I feel inclined to suggest synizesis :

παίονσι, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 495-518)

This ode reverts to a rare Pindaric model. It consists beyond all question of three corresponding strophes. (Compare the eighth chorus of Sophocles' *Trachiniae*.) The metre is Anacreontic, except that in the two last lines of each strophe we have three naked ionics a minore without anaclasis, followed by ∪ ∪ - ∪ - - -. I admit that I do not know how to describe these syllables. They plainly begin with an ionic a minore plus a syllable interpolated by anaclasis; but, if we allow for the anaclasis, what is left appears to be a transferred short plus two longs, which is certainly not a catalectic Ionic foot.

The point to which I desire to direct particular attention is that these variations from the norm occur identically and at identical points in all three strophes. If this were not so, it might conceivably be argued that we have, not three corresponding strophes, but three compositions of equal length in regular metre, corresponding to one another syllabically not by virtue of any law of syllabic correspondence but as a result of their being composed in the same regular metre. The repetition of the variation which I have mentioned puts any such argument out of court.

Moreover the Doric form *νύμφα* in l. 515 will be sufficient to show anyone who has had the leisure to follow my necessarily somewhat scattered arguments that this chorus must be subject to lyrical law.

Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that

we are dealing with a satyric drama, I am disposed to find in this ode a sort of approximation to the Attic non-lyrical choruses of Aristophanes. That assumption will at once explain why Euripides has employed a distinctly unusual variety of strophic arrangement, and also why he has admitted so large an amount of regular Anacreontic metre. But the ode is emphatically lyrical under a more or less non-lyrical disguise, not (as is continually the case in Aristophanes) non-lyrical under a more or less lyrical disguise.

It is unnecessary for me to point out the importance of the existence in Attic drama, under whatever conditions, of a clear instance of three corresponding strophes. It proves that, if circumstances demanded, such a form of composition remained in Attic times a possible alternative to the familiar strophe and antistrophe.

The chorus presents, in a line where the Anacreontic metre has gone to pieces, something that is technically an example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

In the first and second strophes the fourth line is a regular Anacreontic (— — — — —); in the third strophe the fourth line is of the scansion — — — — —. Hence in the third strophe the sixth syllable is a long, corresponding to a short in both the other strophes, and the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts corresponding to one long. The fact of corruption is obvious.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 498. φίλον ἄνδρ' ὑπαγκαλίζων

(b) l. 506. ποτὶ σέλμα γαστρὸς ἄκρας

(c) l. 514. λύχνα δ' ἀμμένει δάϊα σὸν

In l. 514 I do not hesitate to adopt Paley's emendation :

λύχνα δάϊ' ἀμμένει σὸν.

I imagine that λύχνα δάϊ' ἀμμένει was corrupted into λύχνα δ' ἀμμένει, that a correction δάϊ' or δάϊα was appended, and that δάϊα as a result was mistakenly put into the text in the wrong place.

It is almost surprising, when one investigates in detail the instances of the phenomenon which I am discussing in this tractate, to find how considerable a proportion of them occur under such circumstances as to preclude the possibility of regarding them as in any sense original.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 608–623)

These lines, except for two epic expressions (*τοῦ ξένων δαιτυμόνος* in l. 610, and *δρὸς ἄσπετον ἔρνος*), are written in colloquial Attic. Witness the exordium :

λήφεται τὸν τράχηλον
ἐντόνως ὁ καρκίνος.

Witness also the expression *ὡς πῆ κακῶς* in l. 619.

Naturally strophe and antistrophe do not exist.

It is worth while to note how immediately after this chorus one might well think that one was not reading Euripides, but a parody of Euripides by Aristophanes. The lines run :

ll. 624–8. ΟΔ. *σιγᾶτε πρὸς θεῶν, θῆρες, ἡσυχάζετε,
συνθέντες ἄρθρα στόματος· οὐδὲ πνεῖν ἐῷ,
οὐ σκαρδαμύσσειν, οὐδὲ χρέμπτεσθαί τινα,
ὥς μὴ ἕξερθῇ τὸ κακόν, ἔς τ' ἂν ὄμματος
ὄψις Κύκλωπος ἐξαμιλληθῇ πυρί.*

Observe that the satyric drama is still technically tragic. Hence *σκαρδαμύσσειν*, not *σκαρδαμύττειν*.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 656–662)

This short choric exhortation of the satyrs to the comrades of Ulysses to blind the Cyclops effectually is written in Doric, but nevertheless is destitute of strophe and antistrophe.

The explanation is not far to seek. The turning of the brand in the Cyclops' eye resembled the turning of a

capstan. Ulysses invited the *κελευσμοί* of the satyrs in the words :

ll. 649-53. *πάλαι μὲν ἦδη σ' ὄντα τοιοῦτον φύσει,
νῦν δ' οἶδ' ἄμεινον. τοῖσι δ' οἰκέλοις φίλοις
χρῆσθαι μ' ἀνάγκη. χειρὶ δ' εἰ μηδὲν σθένεις,
ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπεγκέλευέ γ', ὥς εὐψυχίαν
φίλων κελευσμοῖς τοῖσι σοῖς κτησώμεθα.*

It is unnecessary to insist on the nautical flavour of derivatives of *κελεύειν* (cf. especially *κελευστής*). The analogy of the capstan is so strong that I make little doubt but that the Athenian audience would understand at once that Euripides was giving them a chanty. The nautical simile in the Homeric description of the scene may very well have suggested the treatment.

I do not suggest that it follows that Athenian sailors sang their chanties in Doric ; but Athenians were conservative enough to have done so, if it so happened that the first chanties were composed in that dialect. There is nothing impossible in this. The Dorians of Crete were the typical Vikings of remote Greek antiquity.

In any case, it would have been difficult to accompany a regular rotatory movement with strophic-antistrophic dance and song.

I claim the *Cyclops* as altogether in favour of the contention which I am developing.

SUMMARY

The *Cyclops* presents two instances of the phenomenon in question. One is only *prima facie*, and the other is clearly due to corruption.

HERACLIDAE

The text of this play depends on Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*), with its apographs, and, as regards ll. 1-1002, on Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*), while ll. 1003 to the end are preserved in the severed portion of Codex Palatinus 287, which has become Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (and which I call *B* (2)).

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 75-108)

In this chorus there are no instances of our phenomenon.

I invite attention to the regular correspondence of the dochmiac feet in strophe and antistrophe. Without going so far as to say that the chorus has entirely escaped corruption, I claim it as an illuminating example (at least in the main) of what dochmiacs really are.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 353-80)

No instances.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 608-629)

A AND B

The seventh line of the strophe begins with a cretic, the seventh line of the antistrophe with a dactyl. Seidler, in order to cure this irregularity, emends the strophic line so as to create two examples of our phenomenon.

The lines are these :

(α) l. 614. τὸν δ' ἀλήταν εὐδαίμονα τεύχει (Seidler τὸν
δ' εὐδαίμονα τεύχει ἀλάταν)

(β) l. 625. ἃ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων

Hermann proposes τὸν δ' ἀλίταν, but it seems very uncertain (see Dindorf's Stephanus s.v.) whether such a

word really exists, and, if it does, whether its sole meaning is not *ἀμαρτωλός*. Paley suggests τὸν μέλεον δ', which he supposes may have passed through the stage τὸν δ' ἄθλιον.

For my own part I can see no reason for supposing τὸν δ' ἀλήταν corrupt. In the light of the evidence of the Bacchylides papyrus as to the use of Doric alphas in successive syllables, I even shrink from altering it to τὸν δ' ἀλάταν. It seems to me most unlikely that τὸν δ' ἀλήταν should have been foisted in any way into the text.

On the other hand, when we turn to the antistrophe,

ἀ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων

is suspiciously like Aristotle's ἀρετὰ πολύμοχθε.

The chorus is speaking of Macaria's act of self-sacrifice. The latter portion of the antistrophe runs :

ἀ μελέα πρό τ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ γᾶς,
οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν
δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται.
ἀ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων.
ἄξια μὲν πατρός, ἄξια δ' εὐγενίας τάδε γίγνεται.
εἰ δὲ σέβεις θανάτους ἀγαθῶν, μετέχω σοι.

It will be seen that the general reflexion

ἀ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων

fits in ill, if at all, with the preceding context.

I propose to read :

οὐδ' ἀκλεῆς νιν
δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται,
ἀ γ' ἀρεία βαίνει διὰ μόχθων.

This I suppose to have been altered under the influence of a conscious or unconscious reminiscence of Aristotle.

The ἀ γ', 'seeing that she,' seems to be almost demanded by the previous νιν.

The somewhat strong word ἀρεία appears to me to be absolutely justified, in its application to the daughter of Hercules, by the next line :

ἄξια μὲν πατρός, ἄξια δ' εὐγενίας τάδε γίγνεται.

But it must be remembered that this emendation is not in the remotest degree necessary for the support of my contention that a long and two shorts are not interchangeable. It is Seidler and Seidler alone who is responsible for the appearance in this passage of two instances of the phenomenon to which I object.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 748-783)

No instances.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 892-927)

The end of the second line of the first strophe has a long syllable, where the end of the second line of the first antistrophe has a short and two longs. The strophic line is meaningless. Dindorf emends it in such a way as to introduce an example of the phenomenon to which I take exception, and also so as to leave a short vowel *in hiatus* at the end of the line.

The passages are these :

- (α) ll. 892-4. ἐμοὶ χορὸς μὲν ἡδύς, εἰ λίγεια
 λωτοῦ χάρις ἐνὶ δαί (Dindorf εἰνὶ δαιτί),
 εἴη δ' εὐχαρις Ἀφροδίτα
 (b) ll. 901-3. ἔχεις ὁδὸν τιν', ὦ πόλις, δίκαιον·
 οὐ χρὴ ποτε τόδ' ἀφελέσθαι,
 τιμᾶν θεούς· ὁ δὲ μή σε φάσκων

For ἐνὶ δαί Hermann suggests ἐνι τε δαῖτες. This agrees with the antistrophic line except that the last syllable of δαῖτες is short before εἴη.

εἴη itself is not free from difficulty. The rule is that, in order to justify the optative in the protasis of a presential sentence of this kind, the apodosis should include some such word as δέῃ or χρὴ, or a superlative.

ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν
 (Soph. *Ant.* 666)

is perhaps the best known instance.

On the whole, I suggest as a probable reading :

ἐμοὶ χορὸς μὲν ἄδύς, εἰ λῖγεια
 λωτοῦ χάρις ἔνι τε δαῖτες
 πνείει τ' εὐχάρις Ἀφροδίτα.

The τ' of the last line is Elmsley's: it can have no higher recommendation. πνείει surely needs no excuse in a lyric passage.

SUMMARY

The *Heraclidae*, it will have been seen, presents in its MS. form no example whatever of the phenomenon that I have set forth to discuss. Learned editors have created three artificial instances. *Ex pede Herculem*.

HELENA

This play is preserved only in Codex Laurentianus 32. 2, otherwise called Codex Florentinus (Nauck's *C*, but also known as *L*), and in Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (unknown to Nauck, called by me *B*(2), but often styled *G*), which is the detached portion of Codex Palatinus 287 (Nauck's *B*, but also known as *P*); except that there are also in existence at Paris two apographs of *C*, and one at Florence.

It is generally recognized that the text of the *Helen* is corrupt to a somewhat unusual degree. It will appear in the course of this discussion that the corruption extends beyond the limits within which it has hitherto been detected. It is not too much to say that the choruses of this play have never been subjected in modern times to any such searching criticism as has been applied, for example, to many of the choruses of Aeschylus. It does not fall within my province to attempt to apply this criticism, except incidentally where the text presents

instances of the phenomenon that is the subject of this treatise. But I venture to hope that that limited treatment may establish a few landmarks for the guidance of other writers who may desire to deal with the text of the *Helen* in a detailed manner.

Speaking generally, I should say that the corruptions in this play are due in large measure to deliberate but mistaken reconstitution of a partially illegible text. I have observed no examples of the intrusion of any distinctively mediaeval phenomena, such for instance as *versus technici* (except once) or *versus politici*. I therefore conclude that we possess in the *Helen* a recension of comparatively early days. But, as the corruptions are extremely numerous, I doubt whether the recension can be anterior to the third or fourth century of the Christian era. The indications point rather strongly to an uncial or semi-uncial recension.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 164–252)

This chorus consists of (1) two Doric hexameters, the first dactylic, but the second with a spondee in the second foot, followed by what may for the sake of clearness be described as the first four feet of a hexameter (the first and fourth dactyls, the second and third spondees), plus two short syllables; (2) a first strophe and antistrophe; (3) a second strophe and antistrophe; (4) an epode.

The opening lines run :

ὦ μεγάλων ἀχέων καταβαλλομένα μέγαν οἶκον (οἶκον *C* and *B*(2): οἶκτον a corrector of *C*: οἶτον Musgrave, rightly),
 ποῖον ἀμιλλαθῶ γόον; ἥ τίνα μοῦσαν ἐπέλθω
 δάκρυσιν ἢ θρήνοις ἢ πένθεσιν; εἰ εἰ.

These lines are a great puzzle. I have assumed throughout that lyrical hexameters must of necessity be strophic-antistrophic in character, and this assumption, based upon principle, has led in practice to an elucidation of the metre of certain passages sufficiently complete to render the assumption something more than an assumption. But here no division into strophe and antistrophe seems at

all possible. It is true that, for all I know, an epode might be written in lyrical hexameters; but this cannot be an epode, standing, as it does, at the very beginning of a chorus. I am therefore impelled towards one of two possible conclusions, either that ll. 164–166 form the whole or part of a strophe, the antistrophic counterpart of which has perished; or that the three lines in question are an interpolation, perhaps mutilated, and perhaps from the work of some other poet.

I incline to the latter alternative.

Among my reasons for doing so is the fact that to my mind it would hardly be good Greek for Helen to address herself in the vocative in the words *ὦ καταβαλλομένα*, as if she were a second person, and then continue in the first person *ἀμιλλαθῶ*. Moreover *ἀμιλλαθῶ* (see the examples of *ἀμιλλᾶσθαι* in Stephanus) distinctly denotes rivalry with some one else. Unless I am altogether wrong, the three lines can only mean: ‘Thou woman that art laying the foundations of a high song of high sorrows, with what manner of lamentation shall I enter the lists against thee? Or unto what Muse shall I seek with tears or with dirges or with mourning? Alas, alas.’

The fifth of the surviving poems and fragments of Erinna runs:

Στᾶλαι καὶ Σειρήνες ἐμαὶ καὶ πένθιμε κρωσσέ,
 ὅστις ἔχεις Ἀΐδα τὰν ὀλίγαν σποδίαν,
 τοῖς ἐμὸν ἐρχομένοισι παρ’ ἡρίον εἶπατε χαίρειν,
 αἶτ’ ἀστοὶ τελέθωντ’, αἶθ’ ἑτεροπτόλιες.
 5 χῶτι με νύμφαν εὖσαν ἔχει τάφος, εἶπατε καὶ τό·
 χῶτι πατήρ μ’ ἐκάλει Βαυκίδα, χῶτι γένος
 Τηρία, ὡς εἰδῶντι· καὶ ὅττι μοι ἅ συνεταιρίς
 Ἥρινν’ ἐν τύμβῳ γράμμ’ ἐχάραξε τόδε.

In view of the fact that Baucis was a poetess and is said to have been a disciple of Sappho’s, it is natural to infer that the Στᾶλαι and the Σειρήνες mentioned in l. 1 of Erinna’s poem are the names of either books or pieces that had been written by Baucis. A Siren was placed over the tomb of Sophocles, and another over that of Isocrates (Plutarch, *Vitae Oratorum*, 835). These were

clearly emblematical. But Baucis had *Σειρῆνες* in the plural: as she was herself singular, the plural Sirens must have symbolized something other than her own poetic personality.

I suggest that the three lines in the *Helen* are the exordium of Baucis' *Sirenes*, and that they have been interpolated (originally as an interlinear quotation) in order to illustrate the striking invocation of the Sirens by Helen which immediately follows. I conjecture that Erinna at the time of her premature death (for she soon followed her friend Baucis to the grave) had an epic poem on the stocks—*μεγάλων ἀχέων μέγαν οἶτον*—and that when Baucis not long before had brought out her *Sirenes*, in the opening words she had announced to Erinna that she was embarrassed in her task by the fact that the latter poetess was preparing to cover much the same ground in a work of wider scope.

There is absolutely no certainty in these suggestions. All I aim at (because I do not think it possible to do more) is to name a poem about Sirens, addressed to a woman (because of the feminine *καταβαλλομένα*), out of which the three lines may conceivably have been foisted into Euripides. I have named the sole presumable poem which, as far as I know, satisfies the two separate conditions. The mere fact that any such poem ever presumably existed is at least a striking coincidence, seeing that it is only from such a poem that the interpolation, if any, can have come. It is difficult to express and more difficult to appraise the argument arising from the coincidence: it is enough to say that the coincidence in some manner and to some degree makes in favour of the theory of interpolation and against the theory of a lost antistrophe.

A, B AND C

In the second line of the first strophe, the first, third and fifth syllables are longs: in the second line of the first antistrophe, two shorts instead of a long occur in all three places. To anyone who has followed me through any considerable portion of the field I am endeavouring to

cover it will appear at once that a corrupted text is manifestly indicated in this passage by the very exuberance of the instances of the phenomenon I am investigating. Isolated examples have a much higher (though, I think, a weak) evidential value.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 168. παρθένοι χθονὸς κόραι

(b) l. 180. ἔτυχον ἑλικά τ' ἀνὰ χλόαν

The antistrophic line does not appear open to any reasonable suspicion. With the strophic line the case is far otherwise. The context is :

πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες,
παρθένοι χθονὸς κόραι
Σειρῆνες κτλ.

The Sirens were not the daughters of Earth. Most legends agree that their mother was one of the Muses, either Calliope, Melpomene, or Terpsichore. Plutarch says (*Sympos.* ix. 14) that their father was Phorcus. Apollodorus states that they were said by some to be the children of Achelous and Sterope. But the most important evidence is that of Tzetzes, who, while relating *inter alia* divergent traditions as to the names and parentage of the Sirens, actually mentions Euripides as one of his authorities, but nevertheless gives no hint that Euripides or anyone else called them the daughters of Chthon.

I can only infer from this that *χθονὸς* or *Χθονὸς* formed no part of l. 168 of the recension of the *Helen* used by Tzetzes. His words are these (*Chiliad* i. 330–52, i.e. Book i. *History* 14; and *Chiliad* vi. 713–19, i.e. Book iii. *History* 75):

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ ιδ'

περὶ Σειρῆνων Ὀμηρος, Λυκόφρων, Εὐριπίδης,
καὶ πάντες ἄλλοι γράφουσι, θέλγειν ἀνθρώπους μέλει,
ἀπονεκροῦν τε τῇ ὥδῃ, πᾶσαν τρυφὴν πληροῦντας.
μόνον δὲ ταύτας παρελθεῖν φασιν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά,
κηρῶ μὲν περιχρίσαντα τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὄτα,

αὐτὸν δὲ κατακούοντα, κρεμάμενον ἰστίῳ. 335
 λέγουσι ταύτας εἶναι δὲ κόρας ὀρνιθομόρφους,
 τὴν Λευκωσίαν, Λίγειαν μετὰ τῆς Παρθενόπης,
 τοῦ Ἀχελώου ποταμοῦ καὶ Τερψιχόρης παῖδας.
 ἄλλοι τῆς Μελπομένης δέ, καὶ κλήσεις τούτων ἄλλας.
 τὸ δ' ἄλληγορικώτερον τούτων φασὶ πολλάκις. 340
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πέτρας λέγουσιν εἶναί που σειρηνίδας,
 εὐτρήτους καὶ τοῖς κύμασιν ᾧδῃν ἀποτελούσας.
 Πλούταρχος δ' ὁ νεώτερος πόρνas ἐκείνας λέγει.
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἡδονὰς νικώσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 ὅσοι μὴ φράξουσιν κηρῷ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὦτα, 345
 ἤγουν τὰς πέντε κλείουσιν αἰσθήσεις πρὸς ἐκείνας
 νοῦν τε μετεωρίζουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς σοι λέγω.
 καὶ Τερψιχόρης δέ φημι καὶ Μελπομένης παῖδας.
 ταῖς ἡδοναῖς γὰρ ἔπεται καὶ πόρναις τὰ τοιάδε.
 καὶ Ἀχελώου ποταμοῦ καὶ πτερωτὰς δὲ λέγω, 350
 ὡς ῥεουσῶν τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀστατουσῶν πορνῶν δέ
 καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων τέρψεως συντόμως ἱπταμένης.

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΕΙΡΗΝΩΝ οε'

τρεῖς ἦσαν αἱ Σειρῆνες μὲν ᾧδῃ κηλοῦσαι πάντας,
 ἡ Λευκωσία, Λίγεια μετὰ τῆς Παρθενόπης.
 ἄλλοι Ἀγλαοφήμην δὲ φασιν, Ἀγλαονόην, 715
 καὶ τρίτην Θελξιέπειαν· ἦσαν δὲ θυγατέρες
 τοῦ Ἀχελώου ποταμοῦ καὶ Τερψιχόρης Μούσης.
 εὗρης αὐτὴν τοῖς ὀπισθεν εἰς πλάτος γεγραμμένην,
 οὖσαν τετρακαίδέκατον ταῖς πρώην ἱστορίαις.

Read :

παράλιοι αἰόνος κόραι.

My suggestion is that by haplography ΠΑΡΑΛΙΟΙ became ΠΑΡΛΙΟΙ, which was read ΠΑΡΝΟΙ, and then deliberately expanded into ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙ on the strength of the (apparently late) tradition that the voluntary virginity of the Sirens caused Aphrodite to furnish them with wings (see Eustathius on Homer, p. 1709 : Schmitz, in Smith's *Dictionary*, is wrong in citing Apollonius Rhodius iv. 896 : Apollonius is completely silent as to this legend).

It seems to me probable that **AIONOC** first became **XIONOC**. **A** and **X** have a considerable similarity. **XΘONOC** I regard as a deliberate emendation.

For *αἰόνος* with a short initial syllable see my discussion of the sixth chorus of the *Rhesus* (l. 546) and of l. 171 of this play.

D

In the fifth line of the first strophe the seventh syllable is a long: the fifth line of the first antistrophe replaces this long with two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 171. λωτὸν ἦ σύριγγας αἰλίνους, κακοῖς

(b) l. 183. θάλπους' ἀμφὶ δόνακος ἔρνεσιν

The above is the reading both of *C* and of *B*(2), but a corrector of *C* reads in the antistrophic line:

θάλπους' ἀμφί τ' ἐν δόνακος ἔρνεσι.

As the reading of *C* and *B*(2) stands, the strophic line ends with a redundant iamb. Consequently Hartung expels *κακοῖς* as a gloss on *αἰλίνους*, and editors have followed him. But it is absolutely repugnant to the evidence which I seem to have collected in this treatise to assume the addition to the text of a gloss, unless the gloss was thought to be a correction and not a gloss. In any case *κακοῖς* would be an absurdly bald gloss on *αἰλίνους*.

Though the remedy of transposition must be meted out with circumspection and a niggardly hand, I cannot resist Seidler's most artistic emendation, based on the reading of the corrector of *C*, in l. 183. Seidler reads:

ἀμφιθάλπους' ἐν τε δόνακος ἔρνεσιν.

This transfers the instance of my phenomenon to a new place in the line.

The correspondence now is:

(a) λωτὸν ἦ σύριγγας αἰλίνους κακοῖς

(b) ἀμφιθάλπους' ἐν τε δόνακος ἔρνεσιν

Surely it should at once become obvious that for αἰλίνους in the strophic line we must read αἰδίοις.

Elsewhere αἰδῖος has its initial syllable always long. But Euripides had a trick of shortening such initial alphas. See my note on l. 168 of this play and on l. 546 of the *Rhesus*. The abnormality of the quantity I regard as the starting-point of the corruption, though the corruption is so slight as hardly to require a definite starting-point at all.

E

In the tenth line of the first strophe the tenth and eleventh syllables are two shorts: in the corresponding line of the first antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The following are the two lines in question:

(a) l. 176. φόνια φόνια, χάριτας ἔν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι

(b) l. 188. ὄρεσι φνγάδα νόμον (so Matthiae rightly: C γάμον: B(2) γάμων) ἰεῖσα γοερόν

The strophic context runs thus:

μουσεῖά τε θρηνήμασι ξυνφδὰ

πέμψειε Φερσέφασσα

φόνια φόνια, χάριτας ἔν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι

παρ' ἐμέ θ' (Seidler rightly ἐμέθεν for ἐμέ θ') ὑπὸ μέλαθρα
νύχια παιᾶνας

νέκυσιν ὀλομένοις (Lobeck rightly νέκυσι μελομένους) λάβη.

The plain general sense of the passage is: 'And may Persephone send her grisly choirs to join in the dirge, that from me she may take down into her halls of darkness such paeans as are dear unto the dead.'

The words χάριτας ἔν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσι are perfectly meaningless. I unhesitatingly propose χάρις ἔν' εἴ τι δάκρυσι—'in order that if at all she take pleasure in weeping.' The adverbial τι has a special affection for εἰ and οὐ. **ΕΠΙ** represents **ΕΙΤΙ**. But some one thought that εἴ τι ought grammatically to be εἴ τις, and consequently wrote **ΕΙΤΙC**

above the line in some MS. not now existing. This **EITIC**, because of the **IC** of **XAPIC**, was taken to be a correction of **XAPIC**, and a bewildered copyist made the best of it he could by writing **XAPITAC**. Hence **XAPITACINEΠΙΔΑΚΡΥΤCI**.

Very strange emendations, more or less generally adopted, are *μουσ' εἰ τάδε* for *μουσεῖά τε*, and *Φερσεφάσσα* for *Φερσέφασσα*. The former appears to rest on the belief, which Mr. Pearson puts in plain English, that "it is not possible to give to *μουσεῖα* any other meaning than 'places of song.'" But a school is not the same thing as a school-house; and although it is perfectly true that in the 89th fragment of Euripides *ἀηδόνων μουσεῖον* means 'the singing-place of nightingales,' nevertheless in Aristophanes' parody (*Ranae* 93) of that passage *χελιδόνων μουσεῖα* most certainly means not 'singing-places of swallows' but 'choirs of swallows.'

The associations of *μουσεῖα* are of course at the opposite pole from the associations of *Φερσέφασσα* and the like. But so also are the associations of *παιᾶνας*. It is in this daring incongruity that the force of the passage lies. Compare Aeschylus' *παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων*, 'this Te Deum of Hell,' and above all Dante's magnificently audacious

Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni.

As regards the dative *Φερσεφάσσα*, I regret to say that Hermann is its author. It makes the passage almost, if not quite, untranslatable, and violates the metre of the antistrophe.

F

The twelfth line of the first strophe begins with two short syllables: the corresponding line of the first antistrophe replaces these two shorts by one long.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 178. *νέκυσιν ὀλομένοις λάβη* (read with Lobeck
νέκυσι μελομένους: see discussion of context under heading E)
 (b) l. 190. *Πανὸς ἀναβοᾷ γάμους*

There is a serious fault in the antistrophe, in which the context runs :

Νύμφα τις οἶα Ναῖς
 ὄρεσι φυγάδα νόμον (Matthiae's emendation for γάμον *C*,
 γάμων *B*(2)) ἰεῖσα γοερόν,
 ὑπὸ δὲ πέτρινα μύχατα (Canter's emendation for μύχαλα
 MSS.) γύαλα κλαγγὰς (so *C*: *B*(2) κλαγκὰς)
 Πανὸς ἀναβοᾷ γάμους. 180

It will be seen that the last word of l. 189 not only is meaningless but lacks a long syllable. The strophic lines corresponding to ll. 189-90 are ll. 177-8 :

παρ' ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια παιᾶνας
 νέκνυσι μελομένους λάβη.

In consequence of this Hermann changes κλαγγὰς into κλαγγαῖσιν. With all deference to his authority, I can see no reason why κλαγγαῖσιν, *obstante metro*, should have been corrupted into κλαγγὰς and κλαγκὰς. The corruption at the end of the line seems to me to indicate that some copyist became confused by the division of one word between two lines, and that Πανὸς represents the latter portion of that one word. Such confusion would be natural enough. A perusal of the choruses of the *Helen* will show that the licence, though by no means forbidden, is of rather infrequent occurrence. The context seems to require some such expression as 'proclaims with cries the ravisher's victory.' I therefore suggest

κλαγγαῖς ἄρ-
 -παγέος ἀναβοᾷ γάμους.

If this suggestion is right the change of -παγέος into Πανὸς must evidently have been post-uncial.

ἄρπαγέος only occurs in late Greek, but there is nothing whatever to be urged against its use by Euripides.

G

In the ninth line of the second strophe the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts : in the second antistrophe one long is substituted.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 199. δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα πολύπονον

(b) l. 218. τίνα δὲ βίοτον οὐκ ἔτλας ;

It is necessary to give the strophic context :

ναύτας Ἀχαιῶν

τις ἔμολεν ἔμολε δάκρυα δάκρυσί μοι φέρων,

Ἰλίου κατασκαφὰν

πυρὶ μέλουσαν δαίφ (δαίφ is Musgrave's emendation of the MSS., which give Ἰδαίω, as if the πῦρ were the first of the watch-fires in the *Agamemnon*)

δι' ἐμὲ τὰν πολυκτόνον,

δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα πολύπονον.

After

δι' ἐμὲ τὰν πολυκτόνον,

the words

δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα πολύπονον

come as a distinct anticlimax. 'Toil' is an anticlimax to 'killing.' Besides, what is the exact meaning of a 'toilsome name'?

Moreover, what is the opposition between δι' ἐμὲ and δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα?

In ll. 42-3 there is a real opposition :

Φρυγῶν δ' ἐς ἄλκην προὔτεθην ἐγὼ μὲν οὖ,
τὸ δ' ὄνομα τοῦμόν, ἄθλον Ἑλλήσιν δορός.

But here Helen herself is called πολυκτόνον, and then her ὄνομα is described by the weaker word πολύπονον.

Neither is there any reference, such as we get in *Agamemnon* 689, to the significance, as a name, of the name Helen.

Taking all this into account, I regard l. 199 as far too inept to have been written, I will not say by so consummate an artist as Euripides, but even by a poetaster of ordinary taste. The conclusion surely is that the word ὄνομα here, standing as it does in a confused sort of antithesis to ἐμὲ, is a reminiscent repetition of the ὄνομα

in l. 43, which stands in firm and significant opposition to ἐγὼ.

But nevertheless ὄνομα must have obtained a foothold by reason of the *ductus literarum*. Therefore I suggest

δι' ἐμὲ τὰν πολυκτόνον,
δι' ἐμ' ὄνομ' ἀπολουμέναν.

The τὰν πολυκτόνον is really equivalent to the ὄνομα. I translate 'Through me, whose name is the Murderess, through me, that am about to perish by a lawless doom.'

This yields a real antithesis. Helen was known to the world as the cause of untold wrong to others, whereas in fact it was she that herself was on the brink of suffering untold wrong.

In the twelfth line of the second strophe the seventh syllable is a long: the second antistrophe replaces this long by two shorts.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 202. αἰσχύνας ἐμᾶς ὑπ' ἀλγέων (so Muretus convincingly for the MS. αἰσχύνας' ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀλγέων)

(β) l. 221. οὐκ εὐδαιμονεῖ (ἐν γὰρ μένει Herwerden) τέκεα φίλα

Unless we are to scan τέκεα as an iamb (and there is not sufficient evidence for this kind of synizesis in Euripides, though it is common in Pindar), we must read τέκη. I imagine that τέκη was corrupted into τέκνα, and that τέκνα was subsequently in the interests of metre changed to τέκεα by some corrector who regarded as permissible the phenomenon that is the subject of my discussion.

I

In the thirteenth line of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: the second antistrophe replaces them by one long.

These are the lines :

(α) l. 203. \acute{o} δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota$ $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$

(b) l. 222. $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\chi$ $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$

It would be possible, without altering the text, to transfer the phenomenon to a place later in the line, thus :

(α) \acute{o} δ' $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota$ $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\eta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$

(b) $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\chi$ $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$

But this scansion seems rather unlikely in view of the prevailing cretic endings of the lines in this chorus, though, as l. 221 shows, some correctors at least would not have shrunk from it.

In either case, it seems to me almost certain that we ought to read in the antistrophic line :

$\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\chi$ $\acute{o}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.

$\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, with a short ω , occurs four times in the existing Euripidean text, and once as a variant reading (see Liddell and Scott). We have found several instances elsewhere of characteristic Euripidean quantities leading copyists into difficulty.

K AND L

In the sixteenth line of the second strophe the seventh syllable is a long, and the ninth and tenth syllables two shorts : in the sixteenth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts, and the two strophic shorts by one long.

The following are the lines :

(α) l. 206. $\delta\iota\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$

(b) l. 225. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\iota\nu\iota\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$

The sole reason, to anyone who does not share my view of the phenomenon I am discussing, for suspecting the reading here is the fact that two instances of the phenomenon occur in one line. But the reader who has followed me up to this point, whatever opinion he may

have formed on the general question, will at least agree that two instances in one line furnish grave ground for suspicion, and by themselves show sufficient cause for examining whether the passage in which they occur is reasonably capable of having been corrupted, that is to say, in practice, whether it is patient of scientific emendation.

The lines immediately following the strophic and anti-strophic line in question begin in either case with a vowel. This is important.

I suggest that in l. 225 for *παραδίδωσιν* we should read *παραδίδωσ'*. I lay stress on the probability that *παραδίδωσ'* would have passed into *παραδίδωσιν* on a slightly different application of the same principle that led to a clear demarcation between the two lines 189 and 190, and to the consequent corruption *Πανός*.

My contention is that l. 225 originally ran :

λέχουσιν, πότνια, παραδίδωσ',

and l. 206 :

πατρίδος διδυμογενὲς ἄγαλμ'.

παραδίδωσ' became *παραδίδωσιν*. Such a word as *ἄγων* at the end of l. 206 would very likely have prevented *παραδίδωσ'* from suffering this change; but the influence of *ἄγαλμ'*, with its own (to the copyists) unsatisfactory elision, was not strong enough. Neither could *ἄγαλμα* be written. Manifest hiatus of a short vowel would have been too glaring an anomaly. Consequently there was nothing for it but to modify each of the two lines so that they might present what the copyists thought to be correspondence.

In l. 225 a very slight change was made. *λέχουσιν* was altered to *λέχεσι*.

Without this change, harmonization would have been impossible. With it, it became possible, but only at the cost of root-and-branch transposition. Hence

πατρίδος διδυμογενὲς ἄγαλμ'

was deliberately transformed into

διδυμογενὲς ἄγαλμα πατρίδος.

I am not contradicting what I have said elsewhere against transposition, when I admit it in this particular instance. I have given reasons for my action, and am not transposing arbitrarily. If, as I assume, both strophic and antistrophic line terminated with an elision, strange consequences, at least in the *Helen*, would be almost bound to ensue; and if the lines originally stood as I have suggested, then it is in the highest degree probable that they would have been corrupted into exactly their present forms. Higher than that I am unable, and I do not wish, to put my case.

M

In the eighteenth line of the second strophe the ninth syllable is a long: the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

(α) l. 208. γυμνάσιά τε δονακόντος

(b) l. 227. οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτι πάτρια μέλαθρα

The portion of the antistrophe in which l. 227 occurs has been outrageously corrupted. I will set it out (embodying the corrections I have already suggested, though they in no way bear on the points now at issue):

μάτηρ μὲν οἴχεται,	
δίδυμά τε Διὸς	220
οὐκ εὐδαιμονεῖ τέκη φίλα,	
χθόνα δὲ πατρώϊον οὐχ ὀράς,	
διὰ δὲ πόλεως ἔρχεται	
βάξις, ἃ σε βαρβάροισι	
λέχουσιν, πότνια, παραδίδωσ',	225
ὁ δὲ σὸς ἐν ἀλὶ κύμασί τε λέλοιπε βίον,	
οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτι πάτρια μέλαθρα	
καὶ τὰν Χαλκίοικον ὀλβιεῖς.	

It is to be observed that the chorus in the second antistrophe recapitulate the points mentioned by Helen in the second strophe, with a reference back to Helen's statement

in the prologue (ll. 57 and 58) that Hermes had told her that she should return to Sparta. But the nonfulfilment of this promise is, in the existing text, entered twice over by the chorus in the ledger of Helen's woes, namely, in l. 222 and in ll. 227-8. This is intolerable.

Moreover in l. 226 *ὁ δὲ σὸς* is impossible Greek for *ὁ δὲ σὸς πόσις*. It is intelligible enough; but to be intelligible is not necessarily to be articulate. The omission of *πόσις* gives us the key of the position. In the words of Helen, which the chorus are echoing (ll. 203-4),

*ὁ δ' ἐμὸς ἐν ἀλὶ πολυπλανῆς
πόσις ὀλόμενος οἴχεται,*

πόσις stands some little way after *ὁ δ' ἐμὸς*. Consequently in the antistrophe we should expect to find *πόσις* similarly removed from *ὁ δὲ σὸς*. There is clearly no place for the word in l. 226. Therefore we are driven to conclude that it must have come in l. 227, and that probably its remains are to be found in the *ποτ' ἔτι* of the existing text. But what a vista of corruption this opens out!

At the same time, ll. 228-9 become invested with an appropriate meaning. It is Menelaus (not Helen, whose exile has been already mentioned) that "will never gladden his palace or the heart of our Lady of the Brazen House."

On the whole I suggest that we should read :

*ὁ δὲ σὸς ἐν ἀλὸς ὕδασι τε λέλαιπε βίοτον
οὔτε πόσις Ἀτρείος ἔδεθλα
καὶ τὰν Χαλκίοικον ὀλβιεῖ.*

My reason for changing *ἐν ἀλὶ κύμασι τε* into *ἐν ἀλὸς ὕδασι τε* is two-fold. In the first place, *ἐν ἀλὶ κύμασι τε* seems to me to be rather an example of a Virgilian hendiadys than of any figure known to classical Greek literature; and secondly, I am influenced by a desire to read *οὔτε* instead of *οὐδὲ*. *πόσις* must come after the *οὔτε* or *οὐδὲ*. If *οὐδὲ* be read, *πόσις* is clearly in a separate clause from *ὁ δὲ σὸς*. But *οὔτε* does not introduce a new

clause in the same sense as οὐδὲ would do, and therefore with οὐτε it is comparatively indifferent, as far as meaning goes, on which side of it πόσις stands. But οὐτε absolutely requires a previous τε of the well-known idiomatic kind, and this τε can only, so far as I see, be got by changing ἀλλὶ κύμασί τε into ἀλὸς ὕδασί τε.

Ἀτρείος ἔδεθλα is necessarily quite uncertain; but, if we accept πόσις instead of ποτ' ἔτι, πάτρια must be replaced by some word beginning with a vowel. If Ἀτρείος ἔδεθλα is right, then it would seem, on the strength of Δ passing into Λ, that the corruption is uncial. If the last letter of Ἀτρείος became the first letter of μέλαθρα, we have an instance of Σ passing into Μ. C could not become Μ, nor could σ become μ. The use of Σ would be an indication of date.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 330–385)

If the first chorus of the *Helen* is corrupt, the second presents depravation to an extent unparalleled in the whole of Greek tragedy. The detection of the corruptions in detail is rendered intolerably difficult by the fact that except at the extreme end of the chorus the redactors, though apparently hopelessly ignorant of lyric metre, have had common sense enough to preserve fairly closely what seems to have been the original meaning. But, unless in a few short passages, alteration of one sort or another has been general.

It must be observed that corruption on the grand scale does not extend to the latter portion of the *Helen*. The earlier portion, and in particular this chorus, must have undergone strange literary vicissitudes. I strongly suspect that the first half of the *Helen* has not come down to us through the ordinary channels, but was at one period lost to literature, and subsequently recovered from some dilapidated manuscript which was recognized by the scholars of the day to be of so corrupt a character that they adopted, as the only practicable course, an audacious scheme of reconstitution according to the best of their own imperfect lights.

The chorus may be divided into three members. The first member embraces ll. 330-61. In metre it is predominantly trochaic, with a considerable admixture of tribrachs in parts. It consists of a dialogue between Helen and the chorus, the longer passages being in the mouth of Helen. The second member contains ll. 362-74. Helen is speaking. In the third member, which extends from l. 375 to l. 385, Helen continues to speak; but the member is marked off as separate by the fact that at the beginning of it the rhythm ceases to be iambic or trochaic (I wish carefully to avoid expressing adherence or non-adherence to any theory of the fundamental character of Greek music) and becomes dactylic.

The prevailing view is to the effect that the whole chorus is of an anomoeostrophic nature, that is to say, at any rate in the case of so long a chorus as this, that it flies in the face of the known rules of lyrical composition. But Hermann endeavoured, with his almost unflinching perspicacity, to divide a portion of the first member into strophe and antistrophe. His attempt is generally and rightly judged a failure; and no doubt this fact has deterred subsequent editors from making other efforts in the same direction.

But I am much mistaken if I do not shortly convince the candid student that the third member at least of the chorus is, in spite of corruption, still invested with a palpably strophic-antistrophic character. I shall endeavour to show, though with distinctly less cogency of argument, that the second member also consists of a strophe and antistrophe. It is the first member only that presents grave difficulties. But if the third member can with reasonable certainty be shown to be framed on the ordinary model of Euripidean lyrics, there arises an overwhelming presumption in favour of the whole chorus being similarly constituted.

In order to discover what examples, if any, of the phenomenon that I am discussing are furnished by this chorus, it is indispensable that I should endeavour to present the chorus in strophic-antistrophic form. This task is not of my seeking, but the subject matter of my

discussion puts it imperatively upon me. Therefore I undertake it, although with great diffidence. At the best, I venture to hope that some few of my suggestions may be regarded by the commonwealth of scholars as not unworthy of consideration in future dissertations on the play. At the worst, I shall be conscious of the sufficient reward of having worked honestly at a difficult problem in classical literature.

I ask the reader to suspend judgement as to my treatment of the first and second members, until he has seen what I have to urge with regard to the third.

THE FIRST MEMBER (ll. 330-361)

This member runs thus :

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------|
| ΕΛ. | φίλοι, λόγους ἐδεξάμαν·
βᾶτε βᾶτε δ' εἰς δόμους,
ἀγῶνας ἐντὸς οἴκων
ὥς πύθησθε τοὺς ἐμούς. | 330 |
| ΧΟ. | θέλουσαν οὐ μόλις καλεῖς. | |
| ΕΛ. | ἰὼ μέλεος ἀμέρα.
τίν' ἄρα τάλαινα τίνα δακρυό-
-εντα λόγον ἀκούσομαι ; | 335 |
| ΧΟ. | μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων
προλάμβαν', ὦ φίλα, γόους. | |
| ΕΛ. | τί μοι πόσις μέλεος ἔτλα ;
πότερα δέρκεται φάος
τέθριππά θ' ἀλίου
κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων (a corrector of C writes ἐς
before κέλευθα),
ἦ νέκνυσι κατὰ χθονὸς
τὰν χθόνιον ἔχει τύχαν ; | 340

345 |
| ΧΟ. | εἰς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει
τὸ μέλλον, ὃ τι γενήσεται. | |
| ΕΛ. | σὲ γὰρ ἐκάλεσα, σὲ δὲ κατώμοσα,
τὸν ὑδρόεντα δόνακι χῶρον
Εὐρώταν, θανόντος εἰ βάξις
ἔτυμος ἀνδρὸς ἄδε μοι— | 350 |
| ΧΟ. | τί τὰδ' ἀσύνετα ; | |

- ΕΛ. φόνιον αἰώρημα
 διὰ δέρης ὀρέξομαι,
 ἢ ξιφοκτόνον δίωγμα
 λαιμορύτου σφαγᾶς 355
 αὐτοσίδαρον ἔσω πελάσω διὰ σαρκὸς ἄμιλλα,
 θῦμα τριζύγοις θεαῖσι
 τῷ τε σύραγγ' αἰοιδᾷ σεβί-
 -ζον Πριαμίδας ποτ' ἀμφὶ βουστάθμους.
 ΧΟ. ἄλλος' ἀποτροπὰ κακῶν 360
 γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ σὸν εὐτυχές.

Hermann constructed his strophe and antistrophe thus :

- ΕΛ. φίλαι, λόγους ἐδεξάμαν. στρ.
 βᾶτε, βᾶτε δ' εἰς δόμους,
 ἀγῶνας ἐντὸς δόμων
 ὡς πύθησθε τοὺς ἐμούς.
 ΧΟ. θέλουσαν οὐ μόλις καλεῖς.
 ΕΛ. ἰὼ μέλεος ἄδ' ἡμέρα.
 τίν' ἄρα τάλαινα, τίνα λόγον
 δακρύνοντ' ἀκούσομαι,
 ΧΟ. μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων
 προλάμβαν', ὦ φίλα, γόους.
 ΕΛ. τί μοι πόσις μέλεος ἔτλα, ἀντ.
 πότερα δέρκεται φάος
 τέθριππά τ' εἰς ἁλίου,
 εἰς κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων,
 ΧΟ. * * * *
 ΕΛ. * * * *
 ἢ 'ν νέκυσι δὴ κατὰ χθονὸς
 τὰν χθόνιον ἔχει τύχαν;
 ΧΟ. εἰς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει
 τὸ μέλλον, ὃ τι γενήσεται.

The chief defect of this treatment is that it leaves the rest of the first member *in nubibus*. One could indeed say that the remainder is an epode; but it has not the slightest appearance of being so, and an epode in dialogue would be a strange thing. But intrinsically Hermann's

emendations are not unduly violent. Personally I definitely reject his arrangement (which others have rejected on other grounds) because of his free use of the phenomenon which I question. As I proceed, I am becoming more and more convinced that the occurrence of the phenomenon in our texts is entirely due to corruption and a wrong theory held by copyists.

My own suggestion is that the whole of the first member consists of one strophe and one antistrophe. I believe that the antistrophe begins at l. 348. This is indicated by the fact that the choric couplet (ll. 346-7)

εἰς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει
τὸ μέλλον, ὃ τι γενήσεται

is answered, save as to one short syllable extra in the latter, by the choric couplet (ll. 360-1)

ἄλλος' ἀποτροπὰ κακῶν
γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ σὸν εὐτυχές.

I therefore think that I have good reason for regarding these two couplets as the clausulae of the strophe and of the antistrophe respectively. In a sea of difficulty, such as this, one might well clutch at a straw: instead of a straw I seem to have found a plank.

In corroboration of this view as to the right division of the member into strophe and antistrophe, it must be especially noticed that what I assume to be the strophe begins with four lines in the mouth of Helen, succeeded by one single line in the mouth of the chorus. Identically the same statement is true of what I assume to be the antistrophe: it begins with four lines in the mouth of Helen, succeeded by one single line in the mouth of the chorus. I should argue that this fact put my division beyond the scope of reasonable doubt, were it not the case that the amplest emendation is necessary to make the two sets of five lines mutually correspond. Even so, I urge that the argument is of great weight, and I think that the emendations which I shall propose in those lines, though

beyond doubt far-reaching and necessarily highly uncertain, are nevertheless not unreasonable in view of the conditions of the problem.

I propose to read the beginnings of the strophe and antistrophe thus :

ΕΛ.	φίλια λόγια σέθεν ἐπάϊσα.	330	στρ.
	βᾶτε δὲ βᾶτε δόμους,		
	ἀγῶνας ἂν ἐντὸς οἴκων τῶνδ'		
	ὥς πύθησθε τοὺς ἐμούς.		
ΧΟ.	ἐς ἄννυμα καλείς.	334	
		
ΕΛ.	σὲ παρεκάλεσα, σὲ δὲ κατώμοσα,	348	ἀντ.
	τὸν ῥοδανὸν δوناκῇ'		
	ἀρατόν· ἀπόντος εἰ βάξει	350	
	πότμον ἀνδρὸς ἄδε μοι—		
ΧΟ.	τί τὰδ', ἀσυνετῶ.		

In l. 330 I suggest that σέθεν has been omitted owing to a post-uncial haplography caused by the ἐδε- of ἐδεξάμαν; but this haplography did not and could not affect the initial sigma, which, being left isolated, naturally affixed itself to λόγια, and turned that word into λόγους. The rule that diminutives cannot be used by the tragedians has no application, when the diminutives are employed in a specialized non-hypocoristic sense. Hence λόγιον occurs in the *Heraclidae* 405. λόγιον is indeed not a good instance, as quite possibly it is not a diminutive at all, but merely the neuter of λόγιος. But ἰστίον is surely, in origin, the diminutive of ἰστός; and in l. 1459 of this play the plural ἰστία occurs.

In l. 331 the δὲ ought to come after the first βᾶτε. ἐς is a natural addition for a copyist to make.

In l. 332 I insert ἂν, not by any means chiefly on account of the metre, but on grounds of grammar. Rutherford, to whom among modern scholars students of Greek owe a debt second only, if indeed second, to that which they owe to Elmsley, points out in his splendid edition of Babrius, that after imperatives ὥς ἂν and not ὥς alone is the most regular subjunctive construction. I am inclined with diffidence to go a little further, and to

suspect corruption in the instances to the contrary, when, that is, they occur either in the best Attic or in the quasi-Attic of the great tragedians, even though, as here, that Attic masquerade in a Doric garb.

l. 334, as it stands in our texts, appears to me to be a bold reconstruction of something quite different. The expression οὐ μόλις is employed in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1080:

ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.

There the meaning is: 'The first time thou didst destroy me indeed, but only just and barely; this second time thou hast destroyed me easily and fully.' In the *Eumenides* 864 it seems impossible to make satisfactory sense of

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρών.

In the present passage οὐ μόλις must go either with θέλουσαν or with καλεῖς. θέλουσαν οὐ μόλις can only mean 'easily and fully succeeding in willing.' οὐ μόλις καλεῖς can only mean 'thou easily and fully succeedest in calling.' Of course the Greek compresses these meanings into artistic compass, but the meanings remain. Either of them is inappropriate. On the strength of the antistrophic line, I conjecture ἐς ἀνῆμνα καλεῖς, 'it is to no scene of song that thou summonest us.' If there is anything in this conjecture (and the antistrophic line indicates some treatment at least equally radical) the confusion of Ν and Λ seems to indicate that the corruption is uncial.

In l. 348 the word γὰρ makes no sense. παρεκάλεσα seems to be the plain remedy.

In l. 349 Stephanus changes χῶρον into χλωρόν. This emendation has been generally adopted, and has blinded editors to what I conceive to be the real corruption. I do not think that χλωρόν was ever in the text. δόνακι χῶρον was understood as meaning 'a place for reeds,' and is simply a depravation of δονακῇ' χωρόν. δονακῇ' is the accusative of δονακεύς, 'a reed-bed.' To distinguish δονακεύς from δόναξ a marginal note, χῶρον, was added. Some copyist, unable to understand δονακῇ', which he doubtless regarded as a corruption of some case of δόναξ,

mistook *χῶρον* for a correction, and wrote the barbarous *δόνακι χῶρον*.

ὑδρόεντα is a weak word. I suggest that Euripides is borrowing from Homer to the extent not of one word only but of two. In *Iliad* xviii. 576 we read :

παρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα, διὰ ῥοδανὸν δονακῆα.

This line is one of the most picturesque in Homer—‘beside the babbling river, along the quivering reed-bed.’ Euripides may well have borrowed from it.

In l. 350 *Εὐρώταν* appears to me to convey an impossible sense. What possible reason is there that Helen should call either Eurotas or the reeds of the Eurotas to witness that she meditated suicide? I cannot doubt that what she is really invoking is the marish of the underworld, so often mentioned in the poets. The true reading may perhaps be restored by reference to Propertius, lib. iv. *El.* xi. l. 15 :

Damnatae noctes et vos, vada lenta paludes.

It is true that ‘damnatae’ is transferred (if the reading be correct) from ‘paludes’ to ‘noctes’; but still it induces me to emend *Εὐρώταν* to *ἄρατὸν*.

Βάξις ought probably to be *βάξει*. *ἄδε* in the next line is Theonoe; and, unless one read *βάξει, μοι* has no intelligible construction.

In l. 351 *πότμον* should be read for *ἔτυμος*, and, in order to avoid tautology, this change involves the alteration of *θανόντος* into *ἀπόντος*.

In l. 352 *ἄσυνετῶ* is an easy correction. Compare Alcaeus, *Frag.* 18 :

ἄσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν.

Continuing our investigation of the assumed strophe and antistrophe, we find that the strophe next presents five lines, three spoken by Helen followed by two uttered by the chorus, but that in the antistrophe there are only four lines which on any reasonable theory can be regarded as answering the five, and all four are in the mouth of Helen.

This is certainly a perplexing difficulty ; but I hope to show that it is reasonably probable that what has happened is that the first line of the antistrophic passage has perished, and that the last two lines of that passage have by a complete misconception been transferred from the mouth of the chorus to that of Helen.

Here are the portions in question of the strophe and antistrophe :

ΕΛΕΝΗ

335. *ὦ μέλεος ἀμέρα.* στρ. (continued)
τίν' ἄρα τάλαινα τίνα δακρυσό-
-εντα λόγον ἀκούσομαι ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων*
 339. *προλάβαν', ὦ φίλα, γόους.*

ΕΛΕΝΗ

353. *φόνιον αἰώρημα* ἀντ. (continued)
διὰ δέρης ὀρέξομαι,
ἢ ξιφοκτόνον δίωγμα
λαιμορύτου σφαγᾶς
 (Helen continues : *αὐτοσίδαρον ἔσω πελάσῳ διὰ*
σαρκὸς ἄμιλλα).

I propose to reconstitute thus :

ΕΛΕΝΗ

335. *ὦ μέλεος ἀμέρα.* στρ. (continued)
τίν' ἄρα τάλαινα τίνα κρυσθύντα
διὰ λόγων ἀκούσομαι ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων*
 339. *πρόλαμπ' ἀνωφελεῖς γόους.*

ΕΛΕΝΗ

- * * * * * (Lost line) ἀντ. (continued)
 353. φόνιον ἄορ, φόνιον ὄρεγμα
 διὰ δέρας ὀρέξομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μὴ ξιφοκτόνον διωγμ-
 -ὸν αἵματορῥύτου σφαγᾶς ;

But I should prefer to divide the lines in another way (a way that goes strongly to prove that I am not far from the truth):

ΕΛΕΝΗ

335. ἰὼ μέλεος ἀμέρα. στρ. (continued)
 τίν' ἄρα τάλαινα τίνα κρυσῶντα διὰ λόγων ἀκούσομαι ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- 338-9. μὴ πρόμαντις ἀλγέων πρόλαμπ' ἀνωφελεῖς γόους.

ΕΛΕΝΗ

- * * * * * (Lost line) ἀντ. (continued)
 353-4. φόνιον ἄορ, φόνιον ὄρεγμα διὰ δέρας ὀρέξομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μὴ ξιφοκτόνον διωγμὸν αἵματορῥύτου σφαγᾶς ;

We are entering here on what perhaps is a partial explanation of the corruption of this chorus. ll. 336-7 and 353-4 form, on my reconstruction, lyrical iambic tetrameters acatalectic. There is nothing strange in that. But ll. 338-9 and 355-6 form lyrical trochaic tetrameters ; and, when we come to the next instalment of this strophe and antistrophe, we shall see fairly clearly that this is only the beginning of a series of lyrical trochaic tetrameters. I know of no reason why any tragedian should

not, had he wished, have made his trochaic tetrameters lyrical, and thereby subjected them to the Doric rules of strophe and antistrophe. But I must add that I know of no other place where a tragedian has done so.

In ll. 336-7 *κρυοῦντα* is a simple correction of *δακρύνοντα*. Nor need the contraction excite suspicion: it is strictly in accordance with rule.

In l. 337 I suggest *διὰ λόγων*, and take it to mean 'in conversation,' 'when I come to speech with Theonoe.' *διὰ* has, I think, become the *δα-* of *δακρύνοντα*.

In l. 339 there is nothing metrically wrong or inconvenient in the MS. reading:

προλάβαν', ὦ φίλα, γόους.

But *προλαμβάνειν γόους* seems to me an impossible expression, and I read:

πρόλαμπ' ἀνωφελεῖς γόους.

I am not sure whether those words would in Euripides necessarily have the metaphorical signification of 'light the torch of lamentation before the time,' or whether *λάμπειν* can be used of sound directly and without any metaphor. In either case I would quote Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* 186:

παῖδαν δὲ λάμπει στονόεσσά τε γῆρυς ὄμανλος.

The transitive use of *λάμπειν* is specially Euripidean. See Liddell and Scott.

In the antistrophic lines the words of the chorus have been transferred to Helen because *ἄορ* and *ὄρεγμα* have been run together into *αἰώρημα*, thus giving rise to the impression that Helen is mentioning two alternative methods of suicide, and rendering it necessary to put the speech of the chorus into her mouth.

The particular words that I have suggested are manifestly uncertain; but I do not think that the same can be said of the general lines on which I have proceeded. I borrow *διωγμὸν* from Nauck.

Let us now attack the last portion of the strophe and antistrophe.

It runs in the MSS. :

ΕΛΕΝΗ

340. τί μοι πόσις μέλεος ἔτλα ; στρ. (continued)
 πότερα δέρκεται φάος
 τέθριππά τ' ἀελίου
 κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων (a corrector of *C* puts ἐς before
 κέλευθα),
 ἧ νέκυσι κατὰ χθονὸς
 345. τὰν χθόνιον ἔχει τύχαν ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

- εἰς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει
 347. τὸ μέλλον, ὅ τι γενήσεται.

ΕΛΕΝΗ (continues)

356. αὐτοσίδαρον ἔσω πελάσω διὰ σαρκὸς ἄμιλλα,
ἀντ. (continued)
 θῦμα τριζύγοις θεαῖσι
 τῷ τε σύραγγ' αἰοιδᾷ σεβί-
 -ζον Πριαμίδας ποτ' ἀμφὶ βουστάθμους.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

360. ἄλλος' ἀποτροπὰ κακῶν
 γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ σὸν εὐτυχές.

To restore the text with even an approach to reasonable certainty in the details is apparently impossible ; but it is only matter of time and trouble to lay the broad foundations of the true text. I propose, as my contribution, to read :

ΕΛΕΝΗ

- 340-1. ποῖα πόσις ἔτλα Μενέλεως ; στρ. (continued)
 ἐς τέθριππά θ' ἀλιήλατ' ἐς κέλευθά τ' ἀστέρων,
 344-5. ἧ 'ν νέκυσι κατανοῦσιν ἀχθέων ἔχει τύχαν ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

346-7. ἐς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει τὸ μέλλον, ὃ τι γενήσεται.

ΕΛΕΝΗ (continues)

356. αὐτοχερὶ σίδαρὸν ἐλάσω διὰ τὰ σαρκὸς ἄμματα,
ἀντ. (continued)

θῦμα τριζύγοις θεαῖσι τῷ τε χρύσειον γάνος
 Λεσβία πορόντι πρῶτον ἄθλον ἀμφὶ βουστάθμους.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

360-1. ἀλλ' ἀποστροφὰ κακῶν γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ σὸν εὐτυχές.

For the repeated ἐς in ll. 342-3 (which I build upon the correction in C), I will quote a line from the *Per-vigilium Veneris* in the same metre:

Deque gemmis deque flammis deque solis purpuris.

I do not venture to say that we have here more than a coincidence; but the coincidence is striking. The effect in both cases is, I think, pleasing, because it suits the natural swing of the trochaic tetrameter. (Observe that ἐς τε τέθριππα ἐς τε κέλευθα would not be good Greek.)

In l. 344 ὕ before νέκυσι (for which I read νέκυσι) is a suggestion of Jacobs'.

In l. 356 I substitute with some little confidence αὐτοχερὶ σίδαρὸν for αὐτοσίδαρον. αὐτοσίδαρον ἄμιλλα makes no sense at all. Musgrave's αὐτοσίδαρον ἄμιλλαν, which editors adopt, seems to me about as intelligible or unintelligible as 'a struggle of very steel' would be in English. Evidently some form of αὐτόχειρ is demanded. Though αὐτοχερὶ seems only to occur in Callimachus (*Epigram* 21) and Manetho (iii. 200), αὐτοχειρὶ is probably to be read in the *Orestes* 1040:

ἀλλ' αὐτοχειρὶ θνήσχ' ὅτῳ βούλει τρόπῳ.

Apparently the MSS. present *αὐτόχειρι*, but the adverb is overwhelmingly more natural.

ἐλάσω and not πελάσω is obviously required by the sense. ἔσω seems to be a mutilated and misunderstood correction of πελάσω.

σαρκὸς ἄμιλλα is very puzzling. I can suggest nothing nearer than τὰ σαρκὸς ἄμματα.

As to my readings in ll. 358–9, it is better not to argue at much length as to probabilities. Not only can one not touch bottom, but one can hardly even tread water. Still, I will put forward three considerations.

(1) *χρύσειον γάνος* was once written (apart from the questions of script, diacritical marks and division of words) *χρύσειον γάνος*. (2) *σεβί-* seems to indicate *Λεσβία*. (3) *Λεσβία* seems to indicate *πρῶτον ἄθλον*, because of the proverb *μετὰ Λέσβιον ῥδόν*: if Aphrodite won the first prize, it is appropriate to describe her as Lesbian, and *vice versa*.

In l. 360 *ἄλλος' ἀποτροπὰ* seems to me to be rather a quaint muddling of the syllables of *ἄλλ' ἀποστροφὰ*.

In passing from the first to the second member of this chorus, I must beg the reader to remember that I am as conscious as he can be that I am in large part dealing with baffling uncertainties.

THE SECOND MEMBER (ll. 362–374)

The second member of this chorus extends from l. 362 to l. 374 inclusive. Though at first sight the passage may seem too corrupt to make anything of in a metrical sense (and indeed nothing but outlines can be drawn with any strong security), nevertheless strophe and antistrophe are indicated with sufficient clearness to leave little room for mistake on this head, and it is possible, granted that we are dealing with a strophe and an antistrophe, to make suggestions of greater or less probability in the nature of conjectural emendation. But the one thing absolutely and entirely certain is the almost total depravity of the passage as it stands, taken as a metrical unit. As regards general sense, the corruption has been far less fatal.

This is the member in question :

ἰὼ Τροία τάλαινα,
δι' ἔργ' ἀνεργ' ὀλλυσαι μέλεά τ' ἔτλας ·
τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπρις ἔτεκε
πολὺ μὲν αἶμα, πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, ἄχεα τ' ἄχεσι,
δάκρυα δάκρυσιν ἔλαβε πάθεα, 365
ματέρες τε παῖδας ὤλεσαν,
ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένοι κόμας
ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν Σκαμάνδριον
ἄμφι Φρύγιον οἶδμα.
βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλὰς 370
κελάδησε κἀνοτότυξεν,
ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν,
ὄνυχι δ' ἀπαλόχροα γένυν
ἔδευσε φονίαισι πλαγαῖς.

As l. 368 is an iambic trimeter, and as l. 362 is, except for the missing first syllable of the third foot, an iambic trimeter also, one is led to assume provisionally that the antistrophe begins at l. 367. In spite of certain glaring breaches of correspondence, the general run of the two sets of lines (361-6 and 367-74) presents so many similarities, that the provisional assumption may fairly be regarded as established by evidence of the only degree of cogency that the nature of the case permits.

As the first step therefore, and as a basis for further treatment, I will set forth the text of the MSS. so as to exhibit the correspondence (and also the want of correspondence) between strophe and antistrophe :

<i>ἰὼ Τροία τάλαινα,</i>	στρ.
<i>δι' ἔργ' ἀνεργ' ὀλλυσαι μέλεά τ' ἔτλας ·</i>	362
* * *	(Missing line)
* * *	(Missing line)
<i>τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπρις ἔτεκε</i>	363
<i>πολὺ μὲν αἶμα, πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, ἄχεα τ' ἄχεσι,</i>	
<i>δάκρυα δάκρυσιν ἔλαβε πάθεα,</i>	365
<i>ματέρες τε παῖδας ὤλεσαν,</i>	
<i>ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένοι κόμας</i>	ἀντ.
<i>ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν Σκαμάνδριον</i>	

ἀμφὶ Φρύγιον οἶδμα.
 βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλάς 370
 κελάδησε κἀνοτότυξεν,
 ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν,
 ὄνυχι δ' ἀπαλόχροα γένυν
 ἔδευσε φονίαισι πλαγαῖς.

I will now give the passage with the emendations that occur to me, emendations of which I must not be supposed to be blind to the doubtfulness:

ἰὼ ἰὼ μάλ', Ἴλιον, στρ.
 δι' ἔργ' ἀνεργ' ὄλωλας αἰμύλα τέχνα· 362
 * * * (This lost line must begin with a vowel.)
 * * *
 τὰ δὲ δῶρα Κύπριδος ἔτικτε 363
 πολὺ μὲν αἶμ', ἐπὶ δ' ἄκρ' ἄκροισι
 δάκρυα δάκρυσιν, λίβ' ἀφνεάν, 365
 ματέρες τε παῖδας ὤλεσαν·
 ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένου κόμας ἀντ.
 ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν Σκαμάνδριον
 ἀμφὶ Φρύγιον οἶδμα.
 βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλάς 370
 κελάδησε καὶ ἀνοτότυξεν,
 ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν,
 ὄνυχι δ' ἀπαλὰν χροὰ γένυν
 ἀμφέδευσε φοινία σταγί.

I have taken from L. Dindorf the emendation *Κύπριδος* for *Κύπρις* in l. 363, and from Hermann the emendation *φοινίαισι* (except that I have modified it into *φοινία*) for *φονίαισι* in l. 374.

In the line preceding l. 362 (on Nauck's numbering it is not l. 361, but is apparently treated as an appanage of l. 362) I imagine that *τάλαινα* conceals *Ἴλιον*, and that *Τροία* was made up, perhaps originally in the form *Τρωία*, on the basis of a repeated *ἰὼ*. My reconstitution is most doubtful, but I cannot think of any combination of words better suited to yield the existing reading.

In l. 362 I agree with the view that *ἔργ' ἀνεργα* means

'deeds that were never done.' Carrying on this thought, I read ὄλωλας αἰμύλα τέχνα, which is very close to the text of the vulgate. Not only is the change of tense a cause of offence, but in addition μέλει τ' ἔτλας after ὀλλυσαι is an anticlimax.

In l. 363 L. Dindorf is almost certainly right in altering Κύπρις to Κύπριδος; but can it be argued that in lyric poetry so confusingly complex an expression as τὰ ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπριδος is at all likely to have been used? Besides, the δῶρα Κύπριδος are not any gifts to Helen, but Paris' gift to Aphrodite of the golden apple (see ll. 358-9), so that ἐμὰ makes no sense. But I admit myself completely puzzled by the alteration of δὲ into δ' ἐμὰ, except on the supposition that something or other in the two lost lines caused the change. An addition of μα cannot have occurred without a cause, and I cannot find a vestige of a cause in the existing text. But if in the lost lines the word ἐμὰ occurred immediately above the δὲ of l. 363, the corruption would be accounted for at once. So also would it be, in quite another way, if the lost lines contained a reference to gifts understood by the copyists to stand in opposition to Helen's. The loss of lines removes the full possibility of ascertaining whether a particular corruption is likely in a particular context, because it annihilates a portion of that context.

In l. 364, πολὺ μὲν αἷμα, πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον is nearly as impossible in Greek as 'much blood and much tear' would be in English. πολὺ δάκρυον cannot mean 'many a tear' in classical Greek: we do not find such a use of πολὺς until we come to Polybius and similar writers. But even supposing the idiom to be classical, the variation in this sentence of the meaning of πολὺς would be harsh in the extreme. I suggest that in πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, ἄχεά τ' ἄχεσι we have a running together of two separate methods of rewriting ἐπὶ δ' ἄκρ' ἄκροισι. Why do I propose ἐπὶ δ' ἄκρ' ἄκροισι? It is because I know of nothing else equally likely to have produced the existing reading. I regard ἐπὶ δ' ἄκρ' ἄκροισι δάκρυα δάκρυσι as meaning in effect 'bitterest tears on bitterest tears.'

In l. 365 the word ἔλαβε is obviously and by general

admission corrupt. For ἔλαβε I read λίβ' on the strength of *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1106 :

ὦ πολλὰ δακρύων λιβάδες.

For πάθρα (ΠΑΘΡΑ) I read ἀφνεάν (ΑΦΝΕΑΝ), partly on the ground of what I suggest is an imitation in Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* ii. 156) :

δάκρυσιν ἀφνειοῖσιν ἐμὴν στενάχουσα κορείην.

But too much attention must not be paid to this line of Nonnus, for his meaning is (see the context) : ' Would that I were a Heliad, and could weep rich tears of amber.' But, even so, his use of words, apart from his special meaning, is suggestive.

In l. 371 I separate *κἀνοτότυξεν* into *καὶ ἀνοτότυξεν*, simply in order, on my theory of what is permissible (for here appears my phenomenon), to obtain metrical correspondence. The whole question of epic hiatus in lyric poetry is a good deal thornier than is the subject matter of this treatise. But, to go no further than the limits of this play, l. 1141

δεῦρο καὶ αὐθις ἐκεῖσε

is unmistakably answered and guaranteed by l. 1155

εἰ γὰρ ἄμιλλα κρινεῖ νυν.

If in the *Helen* Euripides can write *καὶ αὐθις* instead of *καῦθις*, I fail to see why in the same play he might not write *καὶ ἀνοτότυξεν* instead of *κἀνοτότυξεν*.

In l. 373 it seems to me that an original genitive plural, *γενῶν*, has (almost inevitably) been mistaken for the accusative singular. This must have led almost at once to the change of *ἀπαλὰν χροῖα* into *ἀπαλόχροα*. Both *γενῶν* (Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 401; Aeschylus, *Septem* 123) and *Ἐρινῶν* (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 931, 970) have caused difficulties to copyists. The behaviour of long *υ* in contraction is a subject which has been very imperfectly investigated. A search in Veitch will disclose the fact that there is excellent authority for most surprising forms of the subjunctive in the case of verbs in *-υμι*.

In l. 374 I have not much hesitation in changing *φονίαισι πλαγαῖς* to *φονία σταγί*. The *ductus literarum* is preserved, and *σταγί* must surely have perplexed any ordinary copyist. Compare Apollonius (*Arg.* iv. 623-4):

τὰ δὲ δάκρυα μυρομένησιν
οἶον ἐλαιηραὶ στάγες ὕδασιν ἐμφορέοντο.

The prefixing of *ἀμφ-* to *ἔδενσε* is a more serious matter; but I would suggest that at any rate the latter part of it may have been omitted by a species of haplography owing to the presence of the *φοι-* of *φονία*. *ἀμφιδεύειν* would be a most appropriate compound by which to describe the rending of both cheeks.

THE THIRD MEMBER (ll. 375-385)

The last member of the second chorus consists of a clearly discernible, but not hitherto discerned, strophe and antistrophe. Near the beginning of the strophe a couple of entirely erroneous glosses have been mistaken for a correction of a word in the text, of a similar *ductus literarum* to their own. They have in consequence replaced this word so as, at the point where they are inserted, to destroy correspondence with the antistrophe and all semblance of coherent sense. Later in the strophe a line from some other tragedy, presumably interlineated as a reference, has been incorporated in the text. Finally, the last two lines of the antistrophe have been rewritten, but apparently not without considerable regard to the *ductus literarum* of the original (the general sense of which can be gathered from the context). This rewriting took place either because the copyist responsible for it entirely failed to grasp the train of thought of the whole passage, or because he considered (as indeed anyone not brought up in the atmosphere of Greek mythology might well do) Euripides' real meaning to be ludicrous beyond the limits of toleration.

Here is the whole choric member as it stands :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθένε Καλλιστοῖ, Διὸς 375
 ἂ λεχέων ἐπέβας τετραβάμοσι γυίοις,
 ὥς πολὺν ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,
 ἂ μορφᾷ θηρῶν λάχνα γυίων (Reiske λαχνογυίων)
 ὄμματι λάβρω σχῆμα λεαίνης
 ἐξαλλάξας ἄχρα (ἄχθρα Hermann) λύπης. 380
 ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο
 χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν
 καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας
 ὤλεσεν ὤλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας
 ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιοὺς. 385

Bothe suggests that the reference in l. 379, *σχῆμα λεαίνης*, is to Atalanta, not to Callisto. Callisto was turned into a she-bear: it was Amphi-damas and Atalanta that were transformed into a lion and lioness.

But I think that Mr. Pearson, interesting as his discussion of the passage is, is mistaken in supposing that we have a mention first of Callisto and secondly of Atalanta. On his view, he changes *ὥς* in l. 377 to *καὶ*, and makes consequential alterations.

It seems to me that it is not consistent with Greek usage to apply to the wife the words *Διὸς λεχέων ἐπέβας*. Zeus, on the contrary, would be said *Καλλιστοῦς λεχέων ἐπιβῆναι*. Now if *τετραβάμοσι γυίοις* really refers to the husband, that husband cannot be Zeus. But it can well be Amphi-damas, because not only did Atalanta become a lioness but Amphi-damas a lion.

Therefore I propose to read ll. 375-6 thus :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθέν', ἄς
 Ἀμφιδάμας λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γυίοις.

I regard an inept gloss on *παρθέν'*, viz. *Καλλιστοῖ*, and an equally inept gloss attached to *λεχέων*, viz. *Διός* (which latter cannot have been appended until *Ἀμφιδάμας* had been mutilated beyond easy recognition), were together taken to be meant as a correction of whatever was left

of ἄς Ἀμφιδάμας. ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΙΔΙΟΣ bears a considerable resemblance to ΑΣΑΜΦΙΔΑΜΑΣ, if we suppose the latter to be blurred or mutilated.

In any case Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθένη must almost certainly, for quite another reason, refer not to Callisto but to Atalanta. The legendary reason for the name of Parthenopaeus, son of Atalanta, was too well known for the words Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθένη to be applied to anyone but his mother. One has only to quote Sophocles, *O.C.* 1320-22 :

ἔκτος δὲ Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκὰς ὄρνυται,
ἐπώνυμος τῆς πρόσθεν ἀδμήτης χρόνῳ
μητρὸς λοχευθείς, πιστὸς Ἀταλάντης γόνος.

We can now divide with confidence into strophe and antistrophe, though much spade-work remains to be done. Read provisionally :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθέν', ἄς	375	στρ.
Ἀμφιδάμας λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γυίοις,		
ὥς πολὺ ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,		
ἂ μορφῇ θηρῶν λαχνογυίων		
[ὄμματι λάβρῳ σχῆμα λεαίνης]		
ἐξαλλάξας' ἄχθεα λύπης·	380	
ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχορεύσατο		ἀντ.
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν		
καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας		
ᾧλεσεν ᾧλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας		
ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιούς.	385	

The simplest supposition as to l. 379, which is metrically superfluous, is that it is a quotation from some other tragedy, very possibly from the *Meleager* of Euripides. But, even so, the line is sufficient to show, if further proof is needed, that we are dealing with Atalanta, not with Callisto. Mr. Kaines Smith suggests to me that the line may have been added with that very object.

The words ματρὸς ἐμᾶς have perplexed editors ; but surely the obvious meaning is, however strange it may sound to modern ears, that wedlock with a λέων was

preferable to wedlock with a κύκνος. And the reason is supplied sufficiently in ll. 257–9 of this play :

γυνή γὰρ οὐθ' Ἑλληνὶς οὔτε βάρβαρος
τεύχος νεοσσῶν λευκὸν ἐκλοχέεται,
ἐν ᾧ με Λήδαν φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς τεκεῖν.

Therefore in l. 380 I read with confidence :

ἐξελόχευσας ἄχθε' εὐνᾶς.

The vivipara and the ovipara are being contrasted, and it will become evident that in ll. 384–5 Helen contrasts the method of her own birth with that of Parthenopaeus.

In l. 381 the middle ἐξεχορεύσατο is impossible. We ought probably to read in that and the following line :

ἄν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχόρευσε, τὰν
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον, Μέρωπος Πιτανάτιδα κούραν.

Presumably, as Hermann has noted, the daughter of Merops is Cos (see Eustathius, p. 318. 34). Merops himself was a γηγενής (see Eustathius, *l.c.*), so that to call his daughter Τιτανίδα is simply to add a word of no substantial extra-significance. We should expect an adjective of a metronymic, not a patronymic character, seeing that the name of the father has already been given. Besides, Τιτανίδα exhibits an example of my metrical phenomenon.

Who, then, was Cos' mother? Hyginus (*Poet. Astr.* ii. 16) supplies the answer in the words: "Hunc (i.e. Meropem) autem habuisse uxorem quamdam nomine Ethemeam genere nympharum procreatam, quae cum desierit colere Dianam ab ea sagittis figi coepit: tandem a Proserpina vivam ad inferos abreptam esse." I call especial attention to the words "genere nympharum procreatam," as they seem to be of importance.

Mr. Paton and Mr. Hicks (*The Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 362) emend 'Ethemeam' in Hyginus into 'Echemelam'; but, I think, without any sufficient reason. In any case I am not much concerned with the mere name of Merops' wife.

I suggest that Helen is here attributing to Cos descent on the mother's side from the famous nymph Pitana, daughter of Eurotas, and that very likely Hyginus derived his information from this passage. For the form Πιτανάτιδα compare Antipater Sidonius (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 711), where the expression Πιτανάτιδι νύμφα seems to be, by a conscious affectation, turned aside from its natural meaning of 'a Pitanatid nymph,' and, on the strength of Alcaeus' Πιτάνα εἰμί, made to signify 'a bride who dies before her bridal.' See Πιτάνη in Photius, and Πιτυάνη (*sic*) in Suidas.

Nothing calls for comment till we come to the two last lines of the antistrophe. The *non sequitur* of meaning is complete, and the expression ὤλεσεν ὀλομένους Ἀχαιοῦς childish.

The only possible continuation of the sentence beginning τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας must consist of words indicating that that δέμας, unlike those of Parthenopaeus and the child of Cos, had been produced after the manner of the ovipara.

Extraordinary as it may seem to-day that such a topic should have found a place in serious poetry, we have nevertheless seen that in ll. 257-9 of this play Euripides does not shrink from handling it with freedom. It must be remembered that he had behind him the very highest of lyrical authority. Sappho writes (*Fr.* 56):

φαῖσι δὴ ποτα Λήδαν ὑακίνθινον
πεπυκάδμενον ὦϊον
εὔρην.

I rather fancy that Sappho must be using εὔρην in the sense of εὔρημα εὔρεῖν, almost equivalent to 'was blessed with.' But, whether that be so or not, and even if Sappho did modify the ordinary legend, she made the ὦϊον the theme of a lyric poem. That would have been enough for Euripides.

There is another consideration. The whole plot of the *Helen* is manifestly based on the mythology of Stesichorus' *Palinode*:

οὐκ' ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις·
οὐδ' ἴκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.

If Euripides had any sense of humour, he must have been aware that any dramatization, unless very reticent (and Euripides was not reticent), of such a theme must tend at times to pass over the frontiers of tragedy into the region of farce. In particular the comings and goings of the two Helens can at once be paralleled on the modern English stage, and the play from which they can be paralleled is not a tragedy.

Without attacking or meaning to attack the poetry of either Stesichorus or Sappho, Euripides seems to have availed himself of an opportunity where he could "without sneering teach the rest to sneer" at the legends embodied in the works of both of them. His own palinode, the *Bacchae*, remained yet to be written.

Therefore we ought to be prepared for an unreserved treatment of the theme. It is impossible, when a passage has once been rewritten, to recover with certainty the *ipsissima verba* of the original author; but if we find (as I venture to think is the case here) that a natural and unvarnished expression of the main gist of the author's meaning, together with some subordinate words perfectly in keeping with that main gist, suits with considerable closeness the *ductus literarum* of the rewritten text, a sort of interim presumption in favour of the reconstruction holds good unless and until cause be shown against it; and the best cause will be a better reconstruction.

I repeat the passage as it stands :

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας
ᾧλεσεν ᾧλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας
ὀλομένους τ' Ἀχαιούς.

For this I propose :

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας
ᾧων ᾧων ἔργμα διδύμους τ'
ἀμφέβαλεν νέους ἀδελφούς.

For ἔργμα, 'barrier,' compare τεύχος in l. 258. I suggest that Euripides has just avoided broad comedy by this use of ἔργμα instead of λεπίς, the Attic word for an

egg-shell, and also by a recognizable echo of Pindar, who writes (*Ol.* iii. 35) :

σὺν βαθυζώνου διδύμοις παισι Λήδας.

Mr. Kaines Smith has communicated to me the following observations: "I don't think that a shadow of the ridiculous rests on this emphasis laid on the manner of Helen's birth. For even though Euripides' object may have been to 'teach the rest to sneer,' I am afraid he would be disappointed in his pupils. No doubt the story was the subject of many a broad joke among Greeks, but their beliefs, however grotesque, seem to have resisted witticism as a duck's back resists water—and then as now, I think the Greek's laughter was dependent a great deal more upon environment than upon the joke itself. Is it likely that Aristophanes would have jested about 'a delicious smell of roast pig' at *Eleusis*? Did not the Greek save his laughter for comedies?"

Let me now gather together my suggestions and present the whole strophe and antistrophe, not indeed in the form in which I am in any way convinced that Euripides wrote them, but in the form which on a balance of probabilities appears to me to be a more likely reconstruction of the original text than any other that I might be able to suggest :

ὦ μάκαρ Ἀρκαδία ποτὲ παρθέν', ἄς	375	στρ.
Ἀμφιδάμας λεχέων ἐπέβα τετραβάμοσι γνίοις,		
ὥς πολὺ ματρὸς ἐμᾶς ἔλαχες πλέον,		
ἂ μορφᾷ θηρῶν λαχνογνίων	378	
ἔξελόχευσας ἄχθε' εὐνᾶς.	380	
ἂν τέ ποτ' Ἄρτεμις ἐξεχόρευσε, τὰν		ἀντ.
χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Πιτανάτιδα κούραν		
καλλοσύνας ἔνεκεν· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέμας		
ῥῶν ῥῶν ἔργμα διδύμους τ'		
ἀμφέβαλεν νέους ἀδελφούς.	385	

I know I have been skating on the thinnest of thin ice. But if only some other students of Greek would consent to do the same, then in course of time a future editor of the *Helen* might be able to pick and choose

something worth picking and choosing from among our various efforts. I have the honour to have been a pupil of Jowett's, and conjectural emendation is not congenial to me. I attempt it from necessity: but *subaudi* everywhere that I know what a rotten reed it is.

Now that my attempt to reconstruct the chorus has been completed, I am able to use it for the only purpose which led me to undertake it. It is indeed not altogether a simple matter to say what are and what are not *prima facie* examples of my phenomenon when the circumstances are such that a distorted text, framed in large measure with conscious disregard of all correspondence, has come into being; but nine cases emerge, which may fairly, in one sense or another, be regarded as instances of my phenomenon. Explicitly or implicitly I have already dealt with them one and all; so I simply tabulate them here.

A AND B

(a) l. 330. φίλ^{αι}, λόγους ἐδεξάμαν

(b) l. 348. σὲ γὰρ ἐκάλεσα, σὲ δὲ κατώμοσα

C

(a) l. 333. ὥς πύθησθε τοὺς ἐμούς

(b) l. 351. ἔ^{τυ}μος ἀνδρὸς ἄδε μοι

D

(a) l. 346. ἐς τὸ φέρτερον τίθει

(b) l. 360. ἄλλος' ἀποτροπὰ κακῶν

E

(a) l. 363. τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα Κύπρις ἔτεκε (τὰ δὲ δῶρα
Κύπριδος ἔτικτε)

(b) l. 371. κελάδησε κἀνοτότυξεν

F

(α) l. 364. πολλὸν μὲν αἶμα, πολλὸν δὲ δάκρυον, ἄχεά τ' ἄχεσι

(b) l. 372. ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν

G

(α) l. 376. ἂ λεχέων ἐπέβας τετραβάμοσι γυίοις

(b) l. 382. χρυσοκέρατ' ἔλαφον Μέροπος Τιτανίδα κούραν

H AND I

(α) l. 378. ἂ μορφᾶ θηρῶν λάχνα γυίων

(b) l. 384. ὥλεσεν ὥλεσε πέργαμα Δαρδανίας

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 515–527)

It is impossible to divide this chorus into strophe and antistrophe in the sense of restoring with any sufficient degree of probability the original text of Euripides; but the two clausulae are clearly ll. 522 and 527. They run:

ψαύσειεν πατρίας γᾶς,

and

κώπα Τρωάδος ἐκ γᾶς.

The identity of scansion in the two lines would in itself be almost enough to prove that l. 522 ends the strophe. The argument is clinched by the echo of γᾶς. The word γᾶς also occurs at the end of l. 525, but there it is probably corrupt, not only because l. 525,

παντοδαπᾶς ἐπὶ γᾶς,

appears to answer l. 520,

ἀλλ' ἔτι κατ' οἶδμ' ἄλιον,

so that I am disposed to suggest an echo of 'sea' to match that of 'land,' and to read

ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀν' οἶδμ' ἄλιον,

and

παντοδαπᾶς ἐφ' ἁλὸς,

but also for the simpler reason that the triple γὰς is intolerable.

ἀνά in many of its senses went out of use in post-classical times and was replaced by κατά. κατά was the distinctively Attic word in these senses, so that we have an instance of the eventual triumph of the Attic idiom in the later language, although not until after the lapse of a considerable period of time.

Owing to the shortness of the chorus, and the consequent difficulty in discovering a reasonable number of *points d'appui*, I shall not attempt further emendation: if I did, I should be groping almost in the dark. I will only add that ἐφάνη in l. 516 is plainly corrupt, and with that, dismiss the chorus, as presenting, as it stands, no instance of my phenomenon.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 625-697)

This chorus consists for the most part of dochmii, with interspersed tragic trimeters, the latter fitting in to strophe and antistrophe, and simulating membership thereof, but, as elsewhere, owing no obedience to the laws of syllabic correspondence. There are also some lyrical iambic trimeters catalectic, the correspondence of which fixes with certainty one strophe and antistrophe. The chorus has been regarded as not subject to strophic-antistrophic rule; but in reality the four strophes and antistrophes of which it consists may be disentangled with only the help of a little patience. The dochmii, as may well be expected in this portion of the *Helen*, are sadly corrupt, some redactor having more particularly laboured under the impression that the form √ - - - is legitimate. It is clear that a considerable number of lines have been lost.

I shall not argue as to the division into strophes and antistrophes. My reasons for dividing at the points where I do divide will be obvious to any reader who will take the time and trouble to consider for himself in detail the length and metre, more particularly the length, of the various speeches of which the chorus consists. But

I may be allowed to point out that in l. 658 the words *καγὼ σέ*, echoed from l. 630, are of importance as tending to fix the terminal limit of antistrophe *α'*, and to show that there is no intermediate strophe and antistrophe between antistrophe *α'* and strophe *δ'*.

I will first give the chorus as it stands, dividing it into strophes and antistrophes and indicating the place of lost lines. The reader must not be surprised at the riotous exuberance of faulty correspondence. The text of the *Helen* is symbolical of Euripides' delineation of human character: we have it as it is, not as it ought to be.

This is the scheme of the interlaced strophes and antistrophes, expressed in the form of a diagram. I did not perceive the subtle harmony of the arrangement until after I had worked out, chiefly by comparing the length of the speeches, what the necessary divisions must be.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{στρ. } \alpha' \\ \text{στρ. } \beta' \\ \text{ἀντ. } \beta' \\ \text{στρ. } \gamma' \\ \text{ἀντ. } \alpha' \\ \text{στρ. } \delta' \\ \text{ἀντ. } \delta' \\ \text{ἀντ. } \gamma' \end{array} \right\}$$

The chorus runs thus :

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν Μενέλεως, ὁ μὲν χρόνος	625	στρ. α'
παλαιός, ἣ δὲ τέρψις ἀρτίως πάρα.		
ἔλαβον ἀσμένα πόσιν ἐμόν, φίλαι,		
περιπετάσασα χέρα		
φίλιον ἐν μακρᾷ φλογὶ φασσφόρῳ.	629	

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

* * * * * (Lost tragic trimeter)
 * * * * *

MENEΛΑΟΣ (read ΕΛΕΝΗ)

καγὼ σέ· πολλοὺς δ' ἐν μέσῳ λόγους ἔχων (the
masculine seems corrupt) 630

* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)
οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποίου πρῶτον ἄρξομαι τὰ νῦν. 631

MENEΛΑΟΣ

* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)
* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

* * * * * (Lost tragic trimeter)

MENEΛΑΟΣ

* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

* * * * * (Lost tragic trimeter)

ΧΟΡΟΣ

* * * (Lost line in the mouth of the chorus)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

γέγηθα, κρατὶ δ' ὀρθίους ἐθείρας 632 στρ. β'

ἀνεπτέρωκα καὶ δάκρυ σταλάσσω,

περὶ δὲ γυῖα χεῖρας ἔβαλον, ἡδονὰν

ὥς λάβω, ὦ πόσις. 635

* * * * * (Lost tragic trimeter)

* * * * * (Lost line)

MENEΛΑΟΣ

ὦ φιλτάτη πρόσοψις, οὐκ ἐμέμφθην. 636 ἀντ. β'

ἔχω τὰ τοῦ Διὸς λέκτρα Λήδας θ',

ἂν ὑπὸ λαμπάδων κόροι λεύκιπποι 638-9

ξυνομαίμονες ὥλβισαν ὥλβισαν (the second ὥλβισαν
should probably be omitted) 640

τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐκ δόμων δ' ἐνόσφισαν θεοί σ' ὁμοῦ
πρὸς ἄλλαν δ' ἐλαύνει θεὸς συμφορὰν τᾶσδε κρείσσω. 642-3

ΕΛΕΝΗ

τὸ κακὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν σέ τε καὶ συνάγαγε πόσιν στρ. γ'
χρόνιον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὀναίμαν τύχας. 645

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὄναιο δῆτα. ταῦτά δὴ ξυνεύχομαι.
δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντοι οὐχ ὃ μὲν τλήμων, ὃ δ' οὔ.

ΕΛΕΝΗ

φίλοι φίλοι, τὰ πάρος οὐκέτι
στένομεν οὐδ' ἀλγῶ.
πόσιν ἐμὸν ἔχομεν ἔχομεν ὃν ἔμενον 650
ἔμενον ἐκ Τροίας πολυετῇ μολεῖν.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ἔχεις ἐγὼ τέ σ'· ἡλίους δὲ μυρίους ἀντ. α'
μόγισ διελθὼν ἡσθόμην τὰ τῆς θεοῦ.
ἐμὰ δὲ δάκρυα χαρμονὰ (but a corrector of C' χαρμονὰν)
πλέον ἔχει
χάριτος ἢ λύπας. 655
* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

τί φῶ; τίς ἂν τάδ' ἥλπισεν βροτῶν ποτε; 656
ἀδόκητον ἔχω σε πρὸς στέρνοις.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

καγὼ σέ τῃν δοκοῦσαν Ἰδαίαν πόλιν
μολεῖν Ἰλίου τε μελέους πύργους.
πρὸς θεῶν, δόμων πῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ἀπεστάλης; 660

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ἐ ἔ· πικρὰν ἐς ἀρχὰν (but the margin of C πικρὰς
ἐς ἀρχὰς) βαίνεις,
ἐ ἔ· πικρὰν δ' ἐρευνᾷς φάτιν.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

λέγ', ὡς ἀκουστὰ πάντα δῶρα δαιμόνων.

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ἀπέπτυσσα μὲν λόγον, οἶον οἶον ἐσοίσομαι.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὅμως δὲ λέξον· ἡδύ τοι μόχθων κλύειν.

665

ΧΟΡΟΣ

* * * (Lost line in the mouth of the chorus)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

οὐκ ἐπὶ λέκτρον βαρβάρου νεανία,
πετομένας κώπας,
πετομένου δ' ἔρωτος ἀδίκων γάμων.

666 στρ. δ'

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

τίς σε δαίμων ἢ πότμος συλᾷ πάτρας;

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ὁ Διὸς ὁ Διός, ὦ πόσι, παῖς μ'
ἐπέλασεν Νείλω (A short interruption by Menelaus
is lost)

670

671

* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

θανυαστά· τοῦ πέμψαντος; ὦ δεινοὶ λόγοι.

672

ΕΛΕΝΗ

* * * * * (Two lost dochmii)
* * *

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

* * (One lost dochmius)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

κατεδάκρυσα καὶ βλέφαρον ὑγραῖνω 673
δάκρυσιν· ἅ Διός μ' ἄλοχος ὤλεσεν.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

Ἥρα ; τίνων χρήζουσα προσθεῖναι κακόν ; 675

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ὦμοι ἐμῶν δεινῶν, λουτρῶν καὶ κρηνῶν, 676
ἵνα θεὰ μορφὰν
ἐφαίδρυναν ἔνθεν ἔμολεν κρίσις· ἀντ. δ'

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

τάδ' ἐς κρίσιν σοι τῶνδ' ἔθηχ' Ἥρα κακῶν ;

ΕΛΕΝΗ

Κύπριν ὡς ἀφέλοιτο

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

πῶς ; αὖδα. 680

ΕΛΕΝΗ

Πάριν ᾧ μ' ἐπένευσεν,

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὦ τλαῦμον.

ΕΛΕΝΗ

τλάμων τλάμων ὦδ' ἐπέλασ' Αἰγύπτω.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

εἴτ' ἀντέδωκ' εἶδωλον, ὥς σέθεν κλύω ;

ΕΛΕΝΗ

τὰ δὲ κατὰ μέλαθρα πάθεα πάθεα, μᾶ-
-τερ, οἱ ἴγώ.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

τί φής ;

685

ΕΛΕΝΗ

οὐκ ἔστιν μάτηρ· ἀγχόνιον δὲ βρόχον
δι' ἐμὲ κατεδήσατο δύσγαμος αἰσχύναν.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὦμοι· θυγατρὸς δ' Ἑρμιόνης ἔστιν βίος ;

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος, ὦ πόσι, καταστένει
γάμον ἄγαμον αἰσχύνᾳ (but a corrector of C
αἰσχύναν).

ἀντ. γ'

690

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ

ὦ πᾶν κατ' ἄκρας δῶμ' ἐμὸν πέρσας Πάρις,

τάδε καὶ σὲ διώλεσε μυριάδας τε
χαλκεόπλων Δαναῶν.

{ (These two lines are
apparently a cor-
ruption of a single
iambic trimeter.)

ΕΛΕΝΗ

ἐμὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἄπο κακότητομον ἀραίαν
ἔβαλε θεὸς ἀπὸ πόλεος ἀπὸ τε σέθεν,
ὅτι μέλαθρα λέχεά τ' ἔλιπον οὐ λιποῦς,
ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς γάμοις.

695

To the student of textual corruption the most interesting feature in this chorus is the alteration (l. 686) of two dochmii into a pentameter:

οὐκ ἔστιν μάτηρ· ἀγχόνιον δὲ βρόχον.

This line gives us the measure of the metrical depravation with which we are dealing.

Let me recapitulate at this point what I believe to be the only orthodox doctrine as to true dochmiacs, a doctrine based partly on the testimony of the sounder choruses of the tragedians, and partly (*noscitur a sociis*) on the otherwise suspicious state of the text in the numerous passages where *prima facie* another principle appears to obtain. I hold that the basis of the dochmius is $\cup - - \cup -$, with one legitimate variation, and one alone, namely $- \cup \cup - \cup -$. The former type admits, in my belief, of resolution *ad libitum*. Hence we may have $\cup \cup \cup - \cup -$, $\cup \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$, $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup -$, $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup -$, $\cup - - \cup \cup -$, $\cup - \cup \cup \cup -$, or $\cup - \cup \cup \cup \cup -$. But I regard it as strictly forbidden (as much as in galliambics) to contract together into one long any short syllable, produced by disintegration of an original long syllable, and a preceding or succeeding short syllable adjacent to it. Hence I regard any such foot as $\cup - \cup - -$ (contracted from $\cup - \cup \cup \cup -$, expanded out of $\cup - - \cup \cup -$) as not a dochmius at all. If, on the other hand, a dochmius of the basic type $- \cup \cup - \cup -$ be used, the initial dactyl can neither be contracted into a spondee, nor expanded into a proceleusmatic, nor, *a fortiori*, can it be first expanded into a proceleusmatic and then contracted into an amphibrach. The cretic portion of the foot alone may be resolved. Hence a dochmius of the type $- \cup \cup - \cup -$ can only be modified into $- \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup -$, $- \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup -$, or $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$.

It seems to me that, as regards the type $\cup - - \cup -$, the limitations I have laid down follow directly from the essential principles of metre, and that it is only *ex abundanti cautela* that I have referred to textual evidence at all. The case for my treatment of the $- \cup \cup - \cup -$ type is not based in the same manner on the bedrock of metrical necessity; but I submit that the initial dactyl was felt to be a permitted exception, and that liberty was, after the manner of the Greeks, limited by law. Examination of a great number of instances has confirmed me in the impression that, except as the result of corruption, the initial dactyl is never either resolved or contracted.

Dochmiacs, being written in Doric, were subject to the syllabic correspondence of strophe and antistrophe. Not only had a dochmius of either type to be answered by a dochmius of the same type, but, as I contend, if a strophic dochmius was resolved, its antistrophic counterpart had to present the same, and none other than the same, resolution.

In the present chorus these principles are treated as if they were non-existent. I am not surprised. Dochmiacs were always a puzzle to copyists, and the only wonder is that in this part of the *Helen* they have not been corrupted beyond the possibility of recognition. But if the reader will peruse with care any one of the comparatively sound dochmiac choruses, he will see for himself that exact syllabic correspondence is preserved in a sufficiently large number of feet to establish an adequate certainty, taking into account the domination of law in Greek art, that, had we the original text of the tragedians, we should find the syllabic correspondence to be not only general but universal.

The first strophe presents a metrical problem of some interest. The first speech is in the mouth of Helen. As the antistrophe shows with the utmost clearness where and when a change of speakers takes place, and as the strophe must in this respect agree with the antistrophe, the last word is inevitably left with Helen, on the assumption, that is, that we are dealing with a duologue pure and simple. And yet at the beginning of the second

strophe, which immediately follows the first strophe, Helen speaks. It is plainly intolerable in a chorus of this structure that the same person should end one strophe and also begin the next. It is of no avail to assume a lost line of duologue at the end of the first antistrophe. That would indeed cure the defect of the strophe, but only at the expense of creating the same defect at the end of the first antistrophe. In fact, on the assumption of a pure duologue, we are brought to an absolute *impasse*.

But a *deus ex machina* was always present on the tragic stage in the person of the leader of the chorus. The simple and natural remedy is to cut the knot by abandoning the assumption of an uninterrupted duologue and supposing the loss of a line in the mouth of the chorus at the extreme end of the first strophe. A corresponding line also in the mouth of the chorus must have been lost at the extreme end of the first antistrophe. The lines may well have been very short and simple. Something like χαῖρ', ὦ γύναι and εἴπ', ὦ γύναι would meet the necessities of the case.

The echo κἀγὼ σέ in l. 657 seems to show that l. 630, beginning κἀγὼ σέ, must be assigned to a position in the midst of a hiatus, where it can only be spoken by Helen, not by Menelaus. And the argument from the echo is reinforced by the consideration that Menelaus is not likely to say κἀγὼ σέ twice over. But it would be very natural for each of the married couple to use the expression in turn. This involves that we should regard as corrupt the masculine ἔχων at the end of l. 630. In the absence of immediate context it seems useless to attempt emendation.

The second strophe and antistrophe were in part recognized by Hermann; but Hermann did not perceive that the antistrophe extends to the end of l. 643, and that the strophe has been mutilated.

In the third strophe and antistrophe the correspondence of ll. 647 and 692-3 is remarkable for its total absence. l. 647, containing as it does both a dual and an example of the idiom οὐχ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, is one of the few unassailable lines in the whole chorus. I am inclined to regard ll. 692-3 as a portion of an hexametrical paraphrase (or

quite possibly, in view of l. 686, an elegiac paraphrase) of the original text.

τάδ' ὤλεσεν σὲ μυρίους τε . . .

would be a reasonable reconstruction; but as it is impossible to give also within the compass of a trimeter the meaning both of *χαλκεόπλων* and of *Δαναῶν*, I am inclined to reject the former as a picturesque addition, and to read what Euripides may quite well have written :

τάδ' ὤλεσεν σὲ μυρίους τε ναυβάτας.

I do not propose to attempt a general emendation of this chorus. The strophic-antistrophic periods stand on sufficiently firm ground already to enable me to proceed direct to my task of pointing out and considering such instances as present themselves of the phenomenon which is the object of my investigation.

A, B AND C

In the third line of the first strophe the first and second dochmii are of the form $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$: in the third line of the first antistrophe the first dochmius assumes the shape $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$, and the second the shape $\cup-\cup\cup\cup-$.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 627. ἔλαβον ἀσμένα πόσιν ἐμόν, φίλαι

(b) l. 654. ἐμὰ δὲ δάκρυα χαρμόνα (or χαρμονᾶν) πλέον
ἔχει

It will be observed also that the first dochmius in the antistrophic line involves a violent, though perfectly lawful, enjambement. Read :

ἐμὰ δὲ χαρμόνα δάκρυα πλεῦν ἔχει.

Hermann emended to *χαρμόνα* but did not transpose—naturally, as he did not perceive that he was dealing with an antistrophe.

D AND E

In the fourth line of the first strophe the dochmius is of the form $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$, emended with substantial certainty by Hermann into the form $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$: in the antistrophic line we find a quasi-dochmius of a type dear to the copyists of the *Helen*, viz. $\cup\cup\cup\cup---$.

Here are the lines:

(α) l. 628. περιπετάσασα χέρα (Hermann περί τ' ἐπέτασα
χέρα)

(b) l. 655. χάριτος ἥ λύπας

It is very difficult to say what ἥ λύπας may conceal. The last syllable of the line must be short. An element of uncertainty arises from the loss of the next line. On the whole I incline to suggest

χάριτος· ὕπαρ ἄρα τάδε.

In the context,

ἐμὰ δὲ χαρμόνα δάκρυα πλεῦν ἔχει
χάριτος,

the words ἥ λύπας are quite unnecessary. With πλέον μᾶλλον and the like the Greeks often omitted the clause dependent on the comparative. Compare Thucydides *passim*. But it would be just this kind of omission that would lead a copyist astray.

F

In the third line of the second strophe the first dochmius is of the form $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$, and the second dochmius scans $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$: in the third line of the second strophe the first dochmius is of the form $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$, the second of the form (if it can be called a form) $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup$.

The lines are:

(α) l. 634. περί δὲ γυῖα χεῖρας ἔβαλον, ἡδονὰν

(b) ll. 638-9. ἀν' ὑπὸ λαμπάδων κόροι λεύκιπποι

A reference to the context (see the chorus, set out above) will inspire considerable doubt whether l. 639 really refers to Castor and Pollux at all. Helen's epithalamium was naturally (see the *Epithalamium Helenae* in Theocritus) sung by girls.

It is true that Pindar (*Pyth.* i. 66) uses the expression λευκοπόλων Τυνδαριδᾶν; but although he employs the word λεύκιππος four times, he never applies it to the Dioscouri. In fact there would be a great awkwardness in so applying it, because the wives of the Dioscouri were called Λευκιππίδες, and that not on the ground that their husbands rode on white horses, but owing to the fact that they were themselves the daughters of Leucippus. These Leucippides are mentioned in this very play (l. 1466) in connexion with the Brazen House, of which they were priestesses. Ibycus (*Fr.* 16. 1) does use the expression λευκίππους κόρους, not indeed of Castor and Pollux, but of Eurytus and Cteatus, who also, according to him, were egg-born. It is obvious that the fact of there being no Leucippides in the case of the Moliones makes it possible to apply to them without any awkwardness the epithet λεύκιπποι. I suspect that legend assigned to the egg from which they sprang an origin different from that of the egg which produced the Dioscouri. The words of the well-known Tortoise-song are not a little suggestive :

χελί χελώνη τί ποῖεις ἐν τῷ μεσῷ;
μαρύομ' ἔρια καὶ κρόκαν Μιλησίαν.
ὁ δ' ἔκγονος σου τί ποῖων ἀπώλετο;
λευκᾶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἄλατο.

μῶλος and μολυρός both mean 'slow.' Μολουρίς is the rock in the Megarid from which Ino and Melicertes plunged into the sea. The two Moliones in popular (though not in Homeric) legend formed together one composite monster, for which no origin can have been too extraordinary.

A very possible strophic reading, in view of the fact that ἄν ought strictly to be ᾶ (in the previous line one must adopt Schaefer's τῆς, in the form τᾶς, and

Reisig's τε, so as to read ἔχω τὰ τὰς Διός τε λέκτρα Λήδας θ'), is :

ἃ Λευκιππίδες μὲν ὅπῃ νεωκόροι
 ξυννόμφ' ὤλβισαν
 τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐκ δόμου δ' ἐνόσφισαν θεοί.
 (In the next line θεός is probably corrupt.)

This reading would yield a much better sense than that of the MSS. A contrast of the Dioscuri and the Gods seems in the context meaningless and impossible. A contrast of the Leucippides and the Gods is quite another matter, especially if the former be expressly described as νεωκόροι : the ministers of heaven had blessed, but heaven refused to ratify the blessing.

It seems to me probable that here, as so often, we have an example of a bad corruption and of an approach to the true reading perpetuated side by side in the text. Λευκιππίδες μὲν νεω- seems to me to have been corrupted into λαμπάδων : λευκίπποι is a partial correction, introduced, it may be, from some slightly better MS. than those in the direct line of textual succession. ὅπῃ has become ὑπὸ, and in that form transposed for the sake of sense. The transposition necessitated the writing of ἂν instead of ἃ.

An argument in favour of these necessarily most doubtful alterations is the fact that they afford, by virtue of the scansion of the reconstituted line, a means of emending the strophe simply and readily.

I would read l. 634 thus :

πέριξ δ' ἀγκάλας ἔβαλον, ἡδονὰν.

G

In the first line of the third strophe the first dochmius is of the form ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ; then follow two syllables ; then comes what may either be - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - or - ~ ~ - ~ ~ - : the first line of the third antistrophe seems to be sound, and presents two dochmii, the first ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ -, and the second ~ ~ ~ - ~ - .

The lines are these :

(a) l. 644. τὸ κακὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν σέ τε κἀμὲ συνάγαγε,
πόσιν

(b) l. 689. ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος, ὦ πόσι, καταστένει

In l. 644 (l. 661 of Hermann's own text) Hermann read *συνάγαγεν πόσι*. I read for the first dochmius τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἀγαθὸν, and for the second, on the strength of the position of πόσι in l. 689, πόσιν ἀνάγαγεν.

Copyists had a knack of putting δέ third in a sentence a great deal oftener than was done by classical authors: compare l. 331 of this play. I think that the reading πόσιν ἀνάγαγεν sufficiently accounts for the outline of the *ductus literarum* of σέ τε κἀμὲ. Again πόσιν is a correction standing side by side with corruption. It seems most natural to take ἀγαθὸν with πόσιν. Cf.

βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

H

In the second line of the third strophe the first dochmius is of the form $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$, the second of the form $\cup--\cup-$: the text appears to be quite sound. In the second line of the third antistrophe the first dochmius is represented by $\cup\cup\cup\cup-$, and the second by two long syllables: sense and metre have alike perished.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 645. χρόνιον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὀναίμαν τύχας

(b) l. 690. γάμον ἄγαμον αἰσχύνα (a corrector of *C*
αἰσχύναν)

The antistrophic context runs :

ME. ὦμοι · θυγατρὸς δ' Ἑρμιόνης ἔστιν βίος ;

ΕΛ. ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος, ὦ πόσι, καταστένει
γάμον ἄγαμον αἰσχύνα (or αἰσχύναν).

L. Dindorf substitutes ἐμόν for αἰσχύνα. Not only is this a thoroughly unscientific emendation, but it also fails

to remove the full harshness of γάμον ἄγαμον after ἄγαμος in the previous line, though it does in a measure lessen it by applying the words not to Hermione but to Helen. But a glance at the next line (ὦ πάν κατ' ἄκρας δῶμ' ἐμόν πέρσας Πάρις) makes it practically certain that it is Hermione's own fate that is described in l. 690. I am inclined to think that the reference is to the enforced concubinage of Hermione with Neoptolemus, and I suggest:

ἄνομ' ἀδαίμον' αἰσχέ' εὐναμάτων.

At the end of the previous line καταστένει has a vocalic termination. I therefore read καταστένει γ'. The γ' is the γε of affirmative answer. It both completes the sense, and fully accounts for the corruption γάμον.

I, K, L AND M

The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth lines of the third strophe and antistrophe present a succession of four examples of the phenomenon which I have under discussion. I will give the lines as they stand, except that I will divide them in the same way both in strophe and antistrophe:

(α) ll. 648-51. ΕΛ. φίλαι φίλαι, τὰ πάρος οὐκέτι
 στένομεν οὐδ' ἄλγῳ. πόσιν ἐμόν ἔχο-
 -μεν ἔχομεν ὃν ἔμενον ἔμενον ἐκ Τροίας
 πολυετῇ μολεῖν.

(β) ll. 694-7. ΕΛ. ἐμὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἄπο κακόποτμον ἀραίαν
 ἔβαλε θεὸς ἀπὸ πόλεος ἀπὸ τε σέθεν,
 ὅτε μέλαθρα λέχεά τ' ἔλιπον οὐ λιποῦσ'
 ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς γάμοις.

Certainty is of course unattainable, but the true reading cannot be very unlike the following:

(α) ΕΛ. φίλ' ἄρα τά ποτ' ἄφιλα· τὰ πάρος οὐκέτι
 στένομεν οὐδαμῶς. πόσιν ἐμόν ἐμόν ἔχο-
 -μεν ἔχομεν ὃν ἔμενον ἔμενον ἐκ Τροίας 650
 πολυετῇ μολεῖν.

- (b) ΕΛ. ἐμὲ δὲ πατρίδος ἄπο κακοποτμωτέραν
 ἔλαβε θεὸς ἀπὸ πτόλεος ἀπὸ τε σέθεν,
 ὅτε μέλαθρα λέχεά τ' ἔλιπον οὐ λιποῦς'
 ἐπ' ἀγάμοις γάμοις.

N AND O

The first and third lines of the fourth strophe and antistrophe each contain one example of my phenomenon, the first pair of lines disguising the fact, the other pair disclosing a clear instance. This is the only passage in the *Helen* to which I can point with any confidence as exhibiting signs of late (though even here not necessarily of mediaeval) corruption.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 666-8. ΕΛ. οὐκ ἐπὶ λέκτρον βαρβάρου νεανία,
 πετομένας κώπας,
 πετομένου δ' ἔρωτος ἀδίκων γάμων.
 (b) ll. 676-8. ΕΛ. ὦμοι ἐμῶν δεινῶν, λουτρῶν καὶ κρηνῶν,
 ἵνα θεαὶ μορφὰν
 ἐφαίδρυναν, ἔνθεν ἔμολεν κρίσις.

I think that it appears at once with fair certainty that l. 666 is a dochmiac line that has been perverted out of dochmiac form by means of metrical devices only to be accounted for on the assumption that it was taken to be not a dochmiac but a *versus technicus*.

It will appear very shortly why I have underlined a portion of the words βαρβάρου and λουτρῶν.

L. Dindorf reads λέκτρα instead of λέκτρον.

The real reconstitution seems to me to be :

- (a) ΕΛ. οὐκ ἐπὶ λέκτρα βάρβαρα νεανία
 πέσομεν, ὥς σκοπεῖς,
 ἔπομεν οὐδ' ἔρωτας ἀδίκων γάμων.
 (b) ΕΛ. ὦλεσέ μ' ἄδωνων λοετρὰ κρηναῖον,
 ἵν' ἀπόμορξαν αἱ
 θεαὶ ἰδρῶτ' ἀνευθ', ἔμολε δὲ κρίσις.

If I am right in these conjectures, it will be seen that

the -βαρα of βάρβαρα is answered by the λοετρ- of λοετρά. Therefore in the MSS. text the two last syllables of βαρβάρον, really standing for two shorts, are answered by the long first syllable of λοντρῶν. Hence my underlinings, as there is a kind of concealed instance of my phenomenon.

P AND Q

The lines following 669 and 679 are perhaps the most difficult to deal with of any in this chorus. As they stand, they present two examples of my phenomenon, thus:

- (α) ll. 669-71. ME. τίς σε δαίμων ἢ πότμος συλᾶ πάτρας ;
 ΕΛ. ὁ Διὸς ὁ Διός, ὦ πόσι, παῖς μ'
 ἐπέλασεν Νεῖλῳ.
 (β) ll. 679-81. ME. τάδ' ἐς κρίσιν σοι τῶνδ' ἔθῃχ' Ἥρα
 κακῶν ;
 ΕΛ. Κύπριν ὥς ἀφέλοιτο ME. πῶς ; αὔδα.
 ΕΛ. Πάριν ῶ μ' ἐπένευσεν, ME. ὦ τλᾶμον.

The most salient fact is that the first interruption of Menelaus (l. 680) in the antistrophe has no corresponding interruption in the strophe to balance it; though the strophic line is corrupt, it seems impossible to assign the latter portion of it to Menelaus.

Therefore I consider that Menelaus does not really utter any portion of l. 680. His interruption in l. 681 stands on a different footing, and, though obviously unmetrical, is probably a real interruption: the strophic counterpart has entirely perished.

It is altogether impossible to attempt any reconstruction that shall carry even moderate conviction as regards details; but broadly I would suggest:

- (α) ME. καὶ τίς σε δαίμων ἢ πότμος συλᾶ πάτρας ;
 ΕΛ. ὁ Διὸς ὁ Διός, ὦ πόσι, παῖς με ῥῶ
 πέλασε Νειλαίῳ. ME. τίς σε θεῶν ; φράσον.
 (β) ME. τάδ' ἐς κρίσιν σοι τῶνδ' ἔθῃχ' Ἥρα κακῶν ;
 ΕΛ. Κύπριδος ἵν' ἀφέλοι πόσιν αἰοίδιμον,
 Πάριν, ἔνευσέ μ' ῶ,— ME. τλάμονα μῶν γάμον ;

In l. 682 I should certainly follow Kirchhoff in reading *τλάμονα τλαμόνως*. In the latter portion of that line *μ'* is needed. One may either read *πέλασέ μ'* or *μ' ἐπέλασ'*. It is quite conceivable that *Αἰγύπτῳ* may be correct, on the strength of the habitual Homeric correction of the second syllable of *Αἰγύπτιος*, though of course that licence of epic metre is due to the length of the word, and does not really justify the shortening of the middle syllable of *Αἰγυπτος*, though it may well have seemed to Euripides to do so. The corresponding strophic line has disappeared bodily.

R AND S

Before the tragic trimeter which in appearance terminates the fourth strophe and the fourth antistrophe comes a dochmiac couplet, which is in strictness the end of the strophe and antistrophe proper. In the strophe this couplet has suffered only moderate corruption, but in the antistrophe the first line of it has become a pentameter of the elegiac type.

The non-correspondence of this pentameter with its more or less dochmiac counterpart (or what ought to be its counterpart) creates two instances of my phenomenon. I might leave the matter at that, simply observing the surroundings in which the examples occur; but I will try to deal with the question more fully.

These are the couplets:

- (α) ll. 673-4. ΕΛ. *κατεδάκρυσα καὶ βλέφαρον ὑγραίνω*
δάκρυσιν· ἂ Διός μ' ἄλοχος ὤλεσεν.
- (β) ll. 686-7. ΕΛ. *οὐκ ἔστιν μάτηρ· ἀγχόνιον δὲ βρόχον*
δι' ἐμὲ κατεδήσατο δύσγαμος αἰσχύναν.

Herwerden is clearly right in objecting to *δάκρυσιν* after *κατεδάκρυσα*. No doubt the Greeks employed a greater licence of repetition than is customary among moderns; but there is a *modus in rebus*. A Frenchman, if writing carefully, will hardly in epistolary correspondence repeat the same noun or verb within the limits of a single communication. An Englishman is much less

careful. A classical Greek writer was laxer still. But nevertheless there are repetitions which are forbidden not by the various conventions of various languages, but by the elementary laws of reasonable expression of thought—laws which apply alike to all languages and to all periods. And the repetition in the text transgresses those laws.

Whether *κατεδάκρυσσα* or *δάκρυσιν* is at fault is a further and more difficult question. By itself, either would be unexceptionable.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that the metre shows that something is corrupt in the words *βλέφαρον ὑγραίνω*.

On the whole, in view of the awkward change of tense from *κατεδάκρυσσα* to *ὑγραίνω*, I am inclined to suggest :

*κατεδάκρυσσα καὶ φᾶρος ὑγρανάμην·
ἀκαρὲς ἂ Διὸς μ' ἄλοχος ὤλεσεν.*

I regard the *δ* of *δάκρυσιν* as really the final *ν* of *ὑγρανάμην*. As we have come to the end of the strophe proper, the last syllable of *ὤλεσεν* is common.

Liddell and Scott's Lexicon is hardly sufficiently illuminative as to the meanings of *ἀκαρής* and its forms. I attach some importance to Hesychius' statement that *ἀκαρέως* can mean *όλοσχερῶς*. That is the sense we require here.

In the antistrophe, I agree with Reisig, that *δὲ* before *βρόχον* must be omitted. It is evident that a pentameter was made up *coûte que coûte*.

At first sight *οὐκ ἔστιν μάτηρ* seems to present an insoluble problem. But on consideration it appears to me that *-ν μάτηρ* (**NMATHP**) can hardly conceal anything other than *αἵματήρ'*, or, with the addition of the *ἀγ-* of *ἀγχόνιον*, *αἵματηράν*. I adopt the latter alternative, and, with the strictest regard to the *ductus literarum*, read :

ἄκεσιν αἵματηράν· φόνιον βρόχον κτλ.

The next line affords a much less sound basis for any kind of conjecture than does even a very corrupt line under ordinary circumstances. It has plainly been con-

fused in some copyist's eye with another corrupt line just below, viz. l. 690 :

γάμον ἄγαμον αἰσχύνα.

For my own part, I am inclined to hark back to the idea of ἄκεσιν αἵματηράν, and to read :

δι' ἔμ' ἐδήσαθ', ἀδύσφαγον ἀγχόναν.

I now pass from this difficult and perplexing chorus, asking (and I have seldom had more reason to ask) the indulgence of my readers, and begging them to remember that my main argument depends on the contention not that my emendations are right, but that the text is wrong.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 1107–1164)

We have emerged at last from the obscurity which involves the earlier portion of the *Helen* (though even there to some slight extent ἡ ἴδον ἡ ἐδόκησα) into the subdued light which invests a not too sound Euripidean chorus. Consequently it becomes once more possible for me to discharge the function of critic without assuming in addition the responsibility of a sort of authorship.

This chorus presents five instances of the phenomenon which I am investigating.

A

In the tenth line of the first strophe the second syllable is a long : the first antistrophe replaces this long by two shorts.

The lines are these :

(a) l. 1116. Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὸ λόγχαις

(b) l. 1131. δόλιον ἀστέρα λάμψας

The strophic context is :

τὸν Ἰλιάδων τ' αἰ-
-δούσα δακρύνοντα πόνον
Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὸ λόγχαις.

In l. 1115 Badham very properly reads *πότμον* instead of *πόνον*, because the word *πόνους* occurs just before (l. 1113). But, even so, the passage makes poor sense. It was the Trojan men, not the Trojan women, that met with a *δακρύνοντα πότμον Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὸ λόγχαις*. The fate of the women was that they were allotted *sub hasta* to the individuals who composed the Greek army. Therefore I make little doubt but that *Ἀχαιῶν* conceals some form of *λαγχάνω*.

λαγχάνειν is twice used by Euripides (l. 214 of this play, *ἔλαχεν ἔλαχεν*, and *Hippolytus* 80, *εἴληχεν*) in the sense of 'to be assigned by lot,' instead of the ordinary meaning 'to obtain by lot.' This use is no doubt based on a solitary instance in Homer (*Odyssey* ix. 159–160):

ἐς δὲ ἐκάστην
ἐννέα λάγχανον αἶγες.

Professor Mayor (in his edition of the 9th *Odyssey*) adduces also l. 78 (it should be ll. 78–9) of the 23rd *Iliad*, and l. 334 of the 9th *Odyssey*; but in those passages *λαγχάνειν* has in reality its ordinary meaning.

Dindorf's Stephanus cites examples of the rarer meaning of *λαγχάνειν* from Plato (*Laws* v. p. 745 E), Pollux (viii. 91), the *Palatine Anthology* (xiv. 11. 4), Strabo ("9 extr.," i.e. 443), and the *Ἀστέια* of Hierocles (29). See also Buttmann's eighth note on the arguments to the *Midias* (p. 3 of Buttmann's invaluable edition). The second argument contains an instance of this use of *λαγχάνειν*, and Dindorf's Stephanus refers one to the commentators. Buttmann in turn sends one on to Ruhnk's *Timaeus*, p. 173.

λέλογχα, seeing that the *γ* is proved by *ἔλαχον* to be nothing more than a necessary modification of *ν*, must once have been conjugated thus: *λέλογχα*, *λέλογχας*, *λέλογχε*, *λέλαχθον*, *λέλαχθον*, *λέλαγμεν*, *λέλαχθε*, *λελάχασι*, *λελάχω*, *λελαχοίην*, *λέλαχθι*, *λελαχέναι*, *λελαχώς*. (I must confess myself uncertain whether an original *χτ* becomes, as philologists assume, *χθ*: *λέλακτον*, *λέλακτον*, *λέλακτε* are not inconceivable: too much has been built on Aristarchus' *πέπασθε* for *πέποσθε* in Homer: Aristarchus meant *πέπασθε*

to come from *πέπαμαι*, not from *πάσχω* at all: it seems to me to be a mere matter of assumption that *πέπαθε* would produce *πέπασθε* and not *πέπαστε*.)

For the existence of the *-αχ-* forms we have the evidence of *λελάχασι* in Hesychius.

I therefore propose to read l. 1116 thus:

λελαχυῶν ὑπὸ λόγχαις.

The etymological identity, not disguised but obvious to the Greek ear, of *λαγχάνω* and *λόγχη* strongly supports this reading, and is in itself sufficient proof that *ὑπὸ λόγχαις* must have been capable of bearing a similar meaning to that of *sub hasta*.

The shortening of the *-υ-* need not cause surprise. Euripides exercises a wide licence in the correction of diphthongs, and here he is probably thinking of a line in Sappho (*Fr.* 9 l. 2):

τόνδε τὸν πάλον λαχοίην.

For the early disappearance of *ι* from the *υι* diphthong see Meisterhans.

B

In the fifteenth line of the first strophe the fourth syllable is a long: for this long the first antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

These are the lines:

(α) l. 1121. *πομπαῖσιν Ἀφροδίτας*

(β) l. 1136. *εἶδωλον ἱερὸν Ἥρας*

εἶδωλον ἱερὸν Ἥρας is the pseudo-Helen. For *ἱερὸν* Dindorf reads *ἱρὸν*, F. W. Schmidt *ἔργον*. Both these conjectures proceed on the assumption that the first syllable of *Ἀφροδίτας* is long. But if that syllable is short (as appears *prima facie* more natural), recourse must be had to a less simple process of emendation. The whole context is admittedly corrupt: in view of which fact I do not think that I am proposing too great a change when I

suggest that ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝΙΕΡΟΝΗΡΑC might well stand for ΕΙΚΩΦΟΝΙΟΝΗΡΑC, i.e.

εἰκὼ φόνιον Ἥρας.

Euripides uses the genitive singular *εἰκοῦς* in l. 77 of this play, and the very words *εἰκὼ φόνιον*, with apparently a kind of play suggestive of tragic irony on the meanings of *εἰκῶ*, in l. 72.

I admit that I am unable to understand why the accusative should be oxytone while the genitive is perispomenon. As *εἰκοῦς* is contracted from *εἰκόος*, so *εἰκῶ* must be contracted from *εἰκόα*. But *εἰκόα* by all rule would produce *εἰκῶ*. It seems to me demonstrable that *εἰκῶ* could only be contracted from *εἰκοά*, and that *εἰκοά* is a quite impossible form.

If the analogy of words like *φρένα*, *φρενός*, were followed (an unlikely thing to happen), we should have an accusative *εἰκόα εἰκῶ* and a genitive *εἰκοός εἰκοῦς*. But tradition presents us with the exact opposite. I do not like to depart from the traditional accentuation of the accusative of substantives of this class; but I feel strong misgivings.

C

In the second line of the second strophe the second syllable is a long; in the second antistrophe this long is replaced by two shorts.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1138. *τί φῆς ἐρευνήσας βροτῶν*

(b) l. 1152. *κτᾶσθε δορὸς ἀλκαίου λόγχα-
-σιν*

As both lines must be considered in their context, I will set out the first three lines of the strophe and the first four of the antistrophe. They run thus:

ll. 1137-9. *ὅ τι θεὸς ἦ μὴ θεὸς ἦ τὰ μέσον,
τί φῆς ἐρευνήσας βροτῶν
μακρότατον πέρας εὐρεῖν;*

- ll. 1151-4. ἄφρονες ὅσοι τὰς ἀρετὰς πολέμῳ
 κτᾶσθε δορὸς ἀλκαίου λόγχαι-
 -σιν καταπανόμενοι πό-
 -νους θνατῶν ἀπαθῶς (Musgrave rightly
 ἀμαθῶς).

In l. 1138 Hermann reads τίς φύσιν for τί φῆς and in l. 1139 εὔρεν for εὔρεῖν. But εὔρεῖν is right, and for τί φῆς we ought with Bamberger to read τίς φῆς'.

In the antistrophe δορὸς ἀλκαίου λόγχαισιν is a strange expression. The use of λόγχαισιν restricts δορὸς to its literal meaning 'spear,' and δόρυ in the singular cannot possess λόγχαι in the plural.

I suggest :

κτᾶσθ' ἄνδρες ἀλκαῖοι λόγχαι-
 -σιν.

The position of ἄνδρες ἀλκαῖοι, separated as it is from ὅσοι and coming on the other side of the main verb, is not in accordance with the usual lyric style of Euripides ; but it is essentially in keeping with the more involved structure of the earlier Doric school. This fact I consider to favour my suggestion. The passage, as I wish to read it, seems to me to smack so strongly of Simonides' way of putting things, that I am tempted to think it a reminiscent contradiction of some bellicose passage, which now has perished in the works of that poet. But such criticism is perilous.

D

In the fourth line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts : for these two shorts the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

The lines are as follows :

(a) l. 1140. ὅς τὰ θεῶν ἐσορᾷ

(b) l. 1154. πό-
 -νους θνατῶν ἀπαθῶς (Musgrave rightly
 ἀμαθῶς)

In the strophic context τὰ θεῶν are said to waver backwards and forwards, and to be subject to unexpected

vicissitudes. This is unreasonable. Sense demands and the antistrophic echo confirms the emendation of τὰ θεῶν into τὰ θνᾶτ'. In lyric poetry θν at the beginning of a word can make position.

E, F, G, H AND I

The twelfth line of the second strophe consists of seven feet, the first an anapaest, the second a tribrach, the third an iamb, the fourth a tribrach, the fifth a tribrach, the sixth an iamb, and the seventh an iamb: the twelfth line of the second antistrophe is a regular lyrical iambic trimeter of six feet, the first a dactyl, the second either an iamb or a tribrach, the third an iamb, the fourth a tribrach, the fifth a tribrach, and the sixth an iamb. As it is impossible to equate these two lines, and as the same word, on one reading, occurs twice, or, on another reading, first an adverb and afterwards the adjective of that adverb occur, in the strophic line, that line is usually shorn of one foot. Older editors expelled the fourth word, newer editors expel the first word. On the former treatment there are four examples of my phenomenon, on the latter two. As one of these two does not coincide as to position in the line with any one of the four, though the other does with one of them, I will, in order to avoid any suspicion of statistical adroitness, count the instances in question as five in number, although every one of them is in a certain sense due to conjectural emendation, and though, owing to mutual exclusion, four is on any single view the maximum total.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 1148. ἀδίκως (for ἀδίκως a corrector of *C* reads ἄδικος) προδότις ἄπιστος ἄδικος ἄθεος· οὐδ' ἔχω
- (β) l. 1162. τείχεα δέ, φλογμὸς (φλογμὸς is presented by the MS. known on Markland's nomenclature as Paris B, but on Musgrave's as Paris G, and is alleged by Stephanus to occur in his MSS.: *C* and *B*(2) read φλογερός) ὥστε Διὸς, ἐπέστυτο φλόξ

The antistrophic line is emended in two ways, as mentioned above. The older way yields the following correspondence or want of correspondence :

- (α) ἄδικος προδότις ἄπιστος ἄθεος· οὐδ' ἔχω
 (β) τείχεα δέ, φλογμός ὥστε Διός, ἐπέσυτο φλόξ

The newer way is not much better :

- (α) προδότις ἄπιστος ἄδικος ἄθεος· οὐδ' ἔχω
 (β) τείχεα δέ, φλογμός ὥστε Διός, ἐπέσυτο φλόξ

The context of the strophic line is this (ll. 1147-9) :

καὶ ἰαχὴ σὴ (Hermann κατ' ἰαχήθης) καθ' Ἑλλανίαν
 ἀδίκως (or ἄδικος) προδότις ἄπιστος ἄδικος ἄθεος· οὐδ' ἔχω
 τί τὸ σαφές, ὃ τι ποτ' ἐν βροτοῖς.

It is dangerous to accept the testimony of a corrector of *C* in favour of what looks not unlike a mere emendation.

I take the -ως of ἀδίκως as the key to the situation. I imagine that l. 1148 began originally with the words ὡς προδότις. This hypothesis gives us the initial dactyl required by l. 1162. I take the **AN** of **ΕΛΛΑΝΙΑΝ** as responsible, with the help of dittography, for the development of ὡς into ἀδίκως. I suggest that the whole line ran :

ὡς προδότις, ὡς ἄπιστος· οὐδ' ἔγωγ' ἔχω.

After ὡς had become ἀδίκως, a correction ἄδικος would soon make its appearance. This might easily be incorporated in the text after ἄπιστος. The second ὡς would necessarily disappear as a consequence of the corruption of the first. ἔγωγ' ἔχω would by haplography become ἔχω only. ἀδίκως would be regarded as probably corrupt (by the side of ἄδικος), and as *extra metrum*. Finally ἄθεος would deliberately be inserted to make up an iambic line.

I read the antistrophic line thus :

τείχεα δὲ φλογμός, ὥστε λῖς, ἐπέσσυται (I begin the next line with a consonant).

I imagine that the source of corruption is the modification of *ἐπέσονται* into (what was probably read at one stage) *ἐπέσονται*, coupled with the appearance of a vowel at the beginning of the next line, resulting in a bold attempt to avoid hiatus by the insertion of the word *φλόξ*, which was probably a gloss on *φλογμός* welcomed, by a misunderstanding, as the missing last word of the line.

ΛΙC is a slight change of *ΔΙOC*, and the word is Euripidean (*Bacchae* 1173).

K

In the thirteenth line of the second strophe the eighth syllable is a long: for this long the thirteenth line of the second antistrophe substitutes two shorts.

The following are the lines:

(a) l. 1149. τί τὸ σαφές, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐν βροτοῖς

(b) l. 1163. ἐπὶ δὲ πάθεα πάθεσιν φέρεις

In my consideration of the previous line I have shown some grounds for supposing that l. 1163 ought to begin with a consonant, or at any rate that if it does begin with a consonant, the path of the would-be emender is greatly smoothed. These considerations are much strengthened by the fact that the discrepancy between the strophic and antistrophic line disappears, if we read the latter as

πάθεα δ' ἐπὶ πάθεσιν φέρεις.

I do not think that this is a case where we need hesitate to transpose. Transposition is amply justified in view of the *π* alliteration, and also by the distinct possibility of haplography having created a reading

πάθεα δὲ πάθεσιν φέρεις.

L

In the fourteenth line of the second strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the second antistrophe they are replaced by one long.

These are the lines :

- (α) l. 1150. τὸ τῶν (a corrector of *C* omits τῶν) θεῶν
ἔπος ἀλαθὲς ἡῦρον
(b) l. 1164. ἀθλίοις (a corrector of *C* reads ἐν ἀθλίοις)
συμφοραῖς αἰλίνοις (a corrector of *C* reads
Ἰλίοις)

It seems to me that perhaps the simplest way of reconciling *C* and *B*(2) with the corrector of *C* is to steer a sort of middle course.

I read :

- (α) τό τοι θεῶν ἔπος ἀλαθὲς ἡῦρον
(b) ἀεθλίοις σύνορος αἰλίνοισι

I suggest that the diorthotes was right in correcting τῶν, but not in wholly omitting it; that he was right in altering ἀθλίοις, but went wrong over the ε of ἀεθλίοις; that he was right in adding to αἰλίνοις the note γρ. ι (i.e. αἰλίνοισι), but that he was wrong in expanding that note into the form in which it actually occurs, viz. γρ. ἰλίοις.

Of course ἀέθλιον ought properly to mean 'a prize'; and so it does in Homeric Greek. But in the 24th *Odyssey* (l. 169) it is said (see Liddell and Scott) to bear the meaning proper to ἄεθλος. It is undeniable that the 24th *Odyssey* is a comparatively late production, but the passage in question does not bear out the statement that ἀέθλιον may equal ἄεθλος. The lines run :

αὐτὰρ ὁ ἦν ἄλοχον πολυκερδείησιν ἄνωγε
τόξον μνηστήρεσσι θέμεν πολίον τε σίδηρον,
ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν ἀέθλια καὶ φόνον ἀρχήν.

The writer means that the bow and the axes were to be the prizes of the victor: he is departing not from Homeric semasiology, but from Homeric tradition.

But in the later epic ἀέθλιον sometimes has plainly the meaning of 'a labour.' A good instance is to be found in Apollonius Rhodius (i. 996-7) :

δὴ γάρ που κάκεῖνα θεὰ τρέφεν αἰνὰ πέλωρα
Ἥρη, Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις, ἀέθλιον Ἡρακλῆι.

See also Callimachus (*Hymn to Delos* 187, and *Hymn to Diana* 108).

It must be remembered that neither Callimachus nor Apollonius was intentionally an innovator in language. Both of them, and Callimachus in particular, made precedent the rule of their writings. Their words and the meanings of their words are often unknown alike to Homer and to Attic; but this fact renders them all the more valuable as authorities, authorities that, it is true, must be consulted with discretion, as to the contents of that portion of literature, already classical in their days, which was neither Homeric nor Attic, and of which so great a part was composed in the Doric or the pseudo-Doric of lyric poetry.

It is the fashion to treat the Alexandrians, except Theocritus, with contempt. Nothing can be more unjust. Virgil, whose opinion cannot be disregarded, thought sufficiently highly of Apollonius to imitate him repeatedly. Callimachus possesses a clear-cut style, and exercised no small influence over the Latin elegists. Both were literary artists of distinct genius. It was their misfortune and not their fault that they lived in an age of decadence. It must not be lightly assumed that men such as they went blundering at haphazard about the storehouse of literary tradition. The differences between late and early Greek are manifold and indubitable; but between the two there is no such gulf fixed as many scholars appear to imagine.

Whether in the passage of Euripides, with which we are dealing, we read the uncontracted *ἀεθλίους* or the contracted *ἀθλίους*, it would seem, because of the succeeding adjective, that the word must be a substantive. If so, it is not a sufficient reason for rejecting the obvious meaning of that substantive to say that that meaning is supported by no better authorities than Apollonius and Callimachus. On the contrary we should be thankful that those two writers are at hand to support by their testimony the conclusion which it is natural to draw from the bare facts of the Euripidean text.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1301-1368)

In the first strophe and antistrophe of this chorus there occurs only one example of my phenomenon, in the second none at all. The chorus, except at the very end, has escaped most of the more serious forms of corruption.

In the eleventh line of the first strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: in the first antistrophe there is an extra short syllable earlier in the line, and the two shorts in question are replaced by one long.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 1311. ζεύξασα θεὰ σατίναν

(β) l. 1329. λαῶν δὲ φθείρει γένναν

I think that the whole difficulty has been caused by a familiar mistake as to the true dual forms.

The context of the two lines is as follows:

(α) ll. 1309-11. *ιέντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα,*

θηρῶν ὅτε ζυγίους 1310

ζεύξασα θεὰ σατίναν.

(β) ll. 1327-9. *βροτοῖσι δ' ἄχλοα πεδία γᾶς*

οὐ καρπίζουσ' ἄρότοις 1328

λαῶν δὲ φθείρει γένναν.

The goddesses of l. 1311 are Artemis and Athene (see ll. 1315-16).

Musgrave rightly corrected *σατίναν* in l. 1311 into *σατίνας*. In the same line *ζευξάσα θεᾷ* and *ζεύξασαι θεαὶ* are read by various editors, but clearly *ζεύξασα θεὰ* stands for the dual *ζευξάσα θεὰ*, which in its turn must stand for the earlier dual *ζεύξαντε θεὰ*.

In l. 1310 Wecklein reads:

θηρῶντό τε ζυγίους.

He is partly right; but, in order to obtain full correspondence with l. 1328, we must read the dual here also, viz.

θηράσθην τε ζυγίους.

Thus I read the strophic context as follows :

ἰέντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα,
θηράσθην τε ζυγίους
ζεύξαντε θεὰ σατίνας.

This has an important bearing on the antistrophe.

In l. 1329, Seidler has very properly substituted *γενεάν* for *γένναν*; but no editor has accounted for the existence of the meaningless δὲ. Barnes omitted it altogether and all his successors seem to have followed his example. This is not emendation but surgery.

I regard the Δ of ΔΕ as merely a duplication of the Ν of ΛΑΩΝ. The Ε is of the utmost importance, and indicates that the original reading was not ΛΑΩΝΦΘΕΙΡΕΙ, but ΛΑΩΝΕΘΕΙΡΕΙ, i.e. λαῶν ἐθείρει.

Therefore, in exact conformity with my strophic restorations, I read the antistrophic passage thus :

βροτοῖσι δ' ἄχλοα πεδία γᾶς
οὐ καρπίζουσ' ἀρότοις
λαῶν ἐθείρει γενεάν.

οὐ negatives both καρπίζουσ' and ἐθείρει. Compare the next two lines :

ποίηνας (Canter ποίμναις) δ' οὐχ ἔει θαλερὰς
βοσκὰς εὐφύλλων ἐλίκων.

For ἐθείρειν compare a gloss on *Iliad* xxi. 347, where ὅστις ἐθείρη is explained as meaning ὅστις ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιμελοῖτο. That meaning gives complete sense here.

If the reader will consult the Homeric passage, which bears a certain similarity to this, he will perhaps, like myself, begin to wonder whether Euripides did not take Βορέης as the nominative to ἐθείρη, and, if so, whether his text was not substantially different from our own. But this is vague speculation, and scarcely bears on my argument.

At the very end of this chorus, immediately after

mentioning the *παννυχίδες* of Persephone, Euripides continues (according to the MSS.):

ll. 1366-9. εὖ δέ νιν ἄμασιν
ὑπέρβαλε σέλانا.
μορφᾷ μόνον ἡῦχαις.

These lines are the despair of editors. They happen by accident to present no example of my phenomenon, but I cannot resist the temptation to try my hand on them.

I suggest :

εἰ δέ νυν ἄμασιν
ὑπ' Ἑρεβος ἄνεις,
ὀρφναῖος ἀνίσχαις.

It seems to me that Euripides is saying that although Persephone, as a result of tasting the pomegranate, was condemned to pass a portion of the year in the underworld, nevertheless that punishment was inflicted on her in the day-time only, and that every night, in her capacity as Moon-goddess, she rose into the sky. Hence the *παννυχίδες*.

σέλانا is a gloss mistaken for a correction. *-αλε σ-* represents *ἄνεις*.

The strophic lines which the above answer are these :

ll. 1350-2. δέξατό τ' ἐς χέρας
βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν
τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῷ.

Here, in order to secure complete correspondence, I have only to alter *χέρας* into *χέρε*. Duals have fared ill in this chorus.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1451-1511)

This picturesque and pleasing chorus cannot be said to be very seriously corrupt; but it is in one sense almost virgin soil. Many scholars have indeed touched lightly upon it, but not one seems to have examined it with that close attention which has been lavished on many still less depraved passages in Aeschylus and Sophocles.

In all, this chorus presents nine examples of my phenomenon, but one of them is the result of emendation.

A, B AND C

In the eighth line of the first strophe the second syllable is a long ; so is the second syllable of the eighth line of the first antistrophe, but Burges with ingenious perversity emends it into two shorts. In the ninth line of the first strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts, and the seventh and eighth syllables also are two shorts : in the ninth line of the first antistrophe two long syllables replace the four shorts, but the Greek is ungrammatical and meaningless.

The lines are these :

- (a) ll. 1458-9. Γαλάνεια τάδ' εἴπη·
κατὰ μὲν ιστία πετάσατ' αὖ-
-ραις
(b) ll. 1472-3. τροχῷ τέρμονι δίσκου
ἔκανε Φοῖβος τᾷ Λακαί-
-να

Dobree reads l. 1472 thus :

τροχῷ 'τέρμονι δίσκου.

Burges reads it thus :

τροχῷ ἀτέρμονι δίσκου.

In view of the sense required by the context, Hermann alters τᾷ in l. 1473 into ὅθεν. This emendation shows Hermann at his best and at his worst. ὅθεν suits to perfection the meaning of the passage ; but it breeds something like despair in the breast of the textual critic to find so great a scholar so contemptuous of the *ductus literarum*, and the whole tribe of editors following in his footsteps. If ὅθεν can be corrupted into τᾷ, then anything can be corrupted into anything else, and the vision of a systematized science of diplomatic is shown to be a chimera.

As the consideration of at any rate the strophic instances of my phenomenon involves reference to other neighbouring lines, it will be convenient to quote the first strophe and antistrophe at full length.

They run thus :

- ΧΟ. Φοίνισσα Σιδωνιάς ὦ στρ.
ταχεῖα κόπα, ῥόθοισι (Canter ῥοθίοισι) μήτηρ
(Badham Νηρέως)
εἰρεσία φίλα,
χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων
δελφίνων, ὅταν αὔραις (Badham rightly
αὔρας) 1455
πέλαγος νήνεμον (I suggest ἀνήνεμον) ἦ,
γλαυκὰ δὲ Πόντου θυγάτηρ
Γαλάνεια τὰδ' εἶπη·
κατὰ μὲν ἰστία πετάσας' αὔ-
-ραις λιπόντες ἐναλίσαις, 1460
λάβετε δ' εἰλατίνας πλάτας,
ὦ (Hermann ἰὼ) ναῦται, ἰὼ ναῦται,
πέμποντες εὐλιμένους
Περσείων οἴκων Ἑλέναν ἐπ' ἀκτάς.
ἦ που κόρας ἂν ποταμοῦ 1465 ἀντ.
παρ' οἶδμα Λευκιππίδας ἦ πρὸ ναοῦ
Παλλάδος ἂν λάβοις
χρόνῳ ξυνελθοῦσα χοροῖς
ἦ κώμοις Ἑρκίνθου,
νυχίον εἰς (I suggest ἐς) εὐφρόναν (Matthiae
rightly εὐφροσύναν), 1470
ὃν ἐξαμιλλησάμενος
τροχῷ τέρμονι δίσκου
ἔκανε Φοῖβος τᾷ Λακαί-
-νῃ γᾷ βούθυντον ἀμέραν
ὁ διὸς δ' (Musgrave Διὸς for διὸς δ') εἶπε
σέβειν γόνος, 1475
μόσχον θ', ἂν λίποιτ' (Hermann λιπέτην)
οἴκοις
* * * * * (Lost line)
ἄς οὔπω πεῦκαι πρὸς (Canter rightly πρὸ)
γάμων ἔλαμψαν.

It is sufficiently plain from the words of l. 1461, even taken by themselves, that l. 1459 ought not to contain an order to hoist sail: it would surely be singular to row a ship while under full sail. But l. 1461 does not stand alone. In ll. 1455-6 we have been expressly told that no wind is blowing. Though *νήνεμον* will not scan, I maintain with confidence that *αὔρας ἀνήνεμον* is a far better reading than *αὔραις εὐήνεμον*. If there were winds, however favourable, how came it to pass that *Γαλάνεια* appeared on the scene? A calm and a favourable wind are two entirely different things.

Consequently in l. 1459 instead of 'hoist the sails' we must of necessity read 'let down the sails.' In other words we must substitute *σχάσατ'* for *πετάσατ'*. In l. 1460 the usual emendation for *λιπόντες* is *πλείοντες*, which in the context seems to me an impossible word.

For *αὔραις λιπόντες ἐναλίας* I am very strongly disposed to read *ἑώροις ἱποῦντες ἐν ἀμφίοις*, 'furling them with the dangling reef-points.' *ἑωρος* only occurs uncompounded in the Homeric form *ἄωρος* (*Odyssey* xii. 89); but the compound *μετέωρος* and the substantive *ἑώρα* (*Oedipus Tyrannus* 1264) supply sufficient evidence of its existence. I do not suggest that *ἀμφία* was the technical word for 'reef-points.' But it would describe them excellently. See my discussion of the word in reference to Bacchylides xvi. 112.

In the antistrophe it is clear that *τᾶ* in l. 1473 represents some word expressive of transition. Hermann's *ὄθεν* is impossible. If any regard is to be paid to the *ductus literarum*, *τᾶ* in its context can represent one word only, and that word is *εἴτα*.

But the idiomatic *εἴτα*, standing without a connecting particle, almost imperatively demands the support of a previous *μέν*.

The last syllable of *δίσκου* stands *in hiatus* before a vowel, and therefore must be short in defiance of the strophic metre.

I propose to read :

ὄντ' ἐξ ἀμίλλας μέν, ἕως
 τρόχῳ τέρμον' ἐδίσκευ',

ἔκανε Φοῖβος· εἶτα Λακαί-
 -να γὰρ βούθυτον ἀμέραν
 ὁ Διὸς εἶπε σέβειν γόνος.

It seems to me that in a description of a game of quoits the use of *τέρμων*, whether compounded or uncompounded, in any other sense than that of the 'peg' or its equivalent is about as suspicious as would be a metaphorical use of the word 'goal' in a description of a game of football.

The 'peg' in question was not a fixed mark at which all the competitors aimed: it was the record of the best throw so far made, and therefore it must have been the ambition of each succeeding competitor to throw beyond it.

This becomes clear from a consideration of ll. 186-203 of the 8th *Odyssey*:

ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτῷ φάροι ἀναΐξας λάβε δίσκον
 μείζονα καὶ πάχετον, στιβαρώτερον οὐκ ὀλίγον περ
 ἦ οἶφ' Φαίηκες ἐδίσκεον ἀλλήλοισι.
 τὸν ῥα περιστρέψας ἦκε στιβαρῆς ἀπὸ χειρός,
 βόμβησεν δὲ λίθος· κατὰ δ' ἔπηξαν ποτὶ γαίῃ 190
 Φαίηκες δολιχῆρετμοι, ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες,
 λαὸς ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς· ὁ δ' ὑπέρπτατο σήματα πάντων
 ῥίμφα θέων ἀπὸ χειρός· ἔθηκε δὲ τέρματ' Ἀθήνη
 ἀνδρὶ δέμας εἰκυῖα, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
 "καὶ κ' ἀλαός τοι, ξεῖνε, διακρίνειε τὸ σῆμα 195
 ἀμφαφύων· ἐπεὶ οὐ τι μεμιγμένον ἐστὶν ὁμίλῳ,
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρῶτον· σὺ δὲ θάρσει τόνδε γ' ἄεθλον·
 οὐ τις Φαίηκων τόδε γ' ἵζεται οὐδ' ὑπερήσει."
 ὥς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
 χαίρων οὐνεχ' ἐταῖρον ἐννέα λεῦσσ' ἐν ἀγῶνι. 200
 καὶ τότε κουφότερον μετεφώνεε Φαίηκεσσι·
 "τοῦτον νῦν ἀφίκεσθε, νέοι· τάχα δ' ὕστερον ἄλλον
 ἦσειν ἢ τοσσοῦτον οἶομαι ἢ ἔτι μᾶσσον."

From these lines it also becomes plain that the inferior throws too were marked; but it is obvious that those marks would be of little practical importance.

Perhaps it may be urged that it is not very natural

to speak of Apollo aiming at his competitor's mark. In reply I would call special attention to the circumstances of the case. Unless Apollo is described in the passage as aiming at something or other, there is not a word to show that his killing of Hyacinth was accidental. Therefore I contend that Euripides is almost inevitably compelled to state that his quoit was aimed at the 'peg.'

One other objection may be raised. It may be said that *δισκεύειν* never governs the accusative of the object aimed at, but only of the thing thrown. That is a mere accident. As *τορνεύειν* means 'to affect with a *τόρνος*,' 'to round off,' so *δισκεύειν* can perfectly well mean 'to affect with a *δίσκος*,' 'to pelt,' 'to hit,' or 'to try to hit.'

D AND E

In the fourth line of the second strophe the fifth syllable is a long, and the seventh and eighth syllables two shorts : in the fourth line of the second antistrophe the long is replaced by two shorts and the two shorts by a long.

The passages are these :

- (α) ll. 1481–2. ὄμβρον λιποῦσαι χειμέριον
νίσσονται πρεσβυτάτα
(β) ll. 1498–9. λαμπρῶν ἄστρον ὑπ’ ἀέλλαισιν
οὐ ναίετ’ οὐράνιοι

Read :

- (α) ὄμβρον λιποῦσαι χεϊμάρρον
νίσσονται πρεσβυτάτα
(β) λαμπρῶν ὑπ' ἄστρον παλμοῖσιν οἷ
θεοὶ ναίετ' οὐράνιοι

ἄστρον ἀέλλαισιν is, even assuming Anaxagorean beliefs, a very harsh expression. *ὑπ'* makes it worse.

The metre just before these lines has gone to pieces. I must not be understood as expressing any opinion concerning l. 1480.

F AND G

In the twelfth line of the second strophe the second and third syllables are two shorts, and the seventh and eighth syllables are also two shorts: in the twelfth line of the second antistrophe the two shorts are in each case replaced by one long.

These are the lines:

(α) l. 1489. *βᾶτε πελειάδες ὑπὸ μέσας*

(β) l. 1506. *δύσκλειαν δ' ἀπὸ συγγόνου*

Stephanus rightly corrected *πελειάδες* into *Πλειάδας*. It is to be observed that in lyrics any combination of consonants at the beginning of a word seems to be able to make position.

In l. 1506 I suggest that we ought to read:

δύσκλειαν δ' ἀπὸ Διογόνου.

'Αργεΐη Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα is sufficient authority for the expression, and there is no reason why, outside Epic, either *Διογενής* or *Διόγονος* should have its first syllable necessarily long.

H

In the thirteenth line of the second strophe the first syllable is a long: the second antistrophe replaces this long with two shorts.

The lines are as follows:

(α) l. 1490. *᾽Ορίωνά τ' ἐννύχιον*

(β) l. 1507. *βᾶλετε βαρβάρων λεχέων*

Nauck very properly cures the imperfect correspondence by substituting for *᾽Ορίωνά* the uncontracted *᾽Οαρίωνά*. What I completely fail to understand is the real attitude of the rather numerous editors who sporadically make alterations for no other possible purpose than to get rid of instances of my phenomenon, but who do so sporadically only. If they think that the phenomenon is lawful but

only not very frequent, then emendations such as this must, on their view, rest on so highly precarious a foundation that I wonder they venture to admit them into the text.

I AND K

The sixteenth line of the second strophe begins with three short syllables, the sixteenth line of the second antistrophe with two long syllables answering the three shorts. Exactly the same is true of the seventeenth line of the second strophe as equated with the seventeenth line of the second antistrophe. The result is peculiar. In both cases either the first antistrophic long may answer the two first strophic shorts, and the second antistrophic long the third strophic short, or else the first antistrophic long may answer the first strophic short and the second antistrophic long the last two strophic shorts. I leave my readers to decide whether such a complication is likely to be genuine.

The passages are these :

- (a) ll. 1493-4. Μενέλεως ὅτι Δαρδάνου
πόλιν ἐλὼν δόμον ἤξει
- (b) ll. 1510-11. οὐκ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς (a corrector of C
 omits ἐς) Ἰλίου
Φοιβείους ἐπὶ πύργους
 (Or, (a) Μενέλεως . .
πόλιν ἐλὼν . .
 (b) οὐκ ἐλθοῦσαν . .
Φοιβείους . .)

Let me set down both sets of lines in their context :

- (α) βᾶτε πελειάδες (I have adopted Stephanus'

Πλειάδας) ὑπὸ μέσας

᾽Ωρίωνά (I have adopted Nauck's

᾽Οαρίωνά) τ' ἐννύχιον,

1490

καρύξατ' ἀγγελίαν,

Εὐρώταν ἐφεζόμεναι,

Μενέλεως ὅτι Δαρδάνου

πόλιν ἐλὼν δόμον ἤξει.

- (b) δύσκειαν δ' ἀπὸ συγγόνου (I have suggested Διογόνου)
 βάλετε βαρβάρων λεχέων,
 ἂν Ἰδαίων ἐρίδων
 ποιναιθεῖς ἐκθήσατο, γᾶν
 οὐκ ἔλθουσιν ἐς (a corrector of C omits ἐς)
 Ἴλίου
 Φοιβείους ἐπὶ πύργους.

1510

I read in the antistrophe :

δύσκειαν δ' ἀπὸ Διογόνου
 βάλετε βαρβάρων λεχέων,
 ἂν Ἰδαίων ἐρίδων
 ποιναιθεῖς ἐπάσατ' ἄγαν,
 ἀκέλευθος ἄρ' Ἴλίου
 θεόθεν οὖς ἐπὶ πύργους.

1510

I am unable to see any other method of emendation that both preserves the main *ductus literarum* and conforms to the ordinary requirements of metre.

I have before had occasion to quote Stesichorus' *Palinode* :

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος ·
 οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,
 οὐδ' ἴκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.

l. 1511 is the last lyrical line of the *Helen*. It is a matter for particular notice that the last chorus ends with an echo of almost the very words of the keynote of Stesichorus' poem.

I hardly think it too much to say that the *Helen* is in effect a dramatization of the *Palinode*.

The examples of my phenomenon in the *Helen*, most of them gathered from the text, but a few from plausible emendations, are (if I may anticipate the summary) sixty-one in number. I will not say that they amount to sixty-one strong arguments in favour of my view ; but somewhere about fifty of them make very distinctly in my favour. With such a proportion I am amply content. I am also amply content that the difficult task of searching

them out from among the tangled perplexities of the text of this play has receded from the present into the past. *Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*

SUMMARY

The *Helen* presents fifty-six examples of the phenomenon in question, and five others result from emendation. It is not always very clear in the case of lines the metre of which is disturbed whether or no a particular alleged correspondence can properly be said to be presented by the text itself without emendation; but I have distinguished the fifty-six and the five instances on as near an approach to principle as I have been able. Of the fifty-six examples four occur within the compass of one line: three sets of three each present themselves within the limits of single lines: seven sets of two each are found in single lines: two further examples are beyond question corrupt: there is one instance that is contradicted by some manuscript authority: another instance is purely graphic. There are left twenty-five examples. Of these twenty-five, thirteen occur in the course of two desperately corrupt dochmiac choruses. The result is that there are only twelve instances that are not charged with the strongest and most obvious suspicion.

HERCULES FURENS

The *Hercules Furens* is preserved in Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*) and its apographs, and Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (unknown to Nauck, called by me *B*(2)).

The argument to the *Hercules Furens*, or rather the

short piece of it which has survived, contains two complete and perfect *versus politici*, viz.

εἰς Ἄργος ἦλθεν Εὐρυσθεὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ἐκπονήσων,
and

πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Κρέοντα Λύκον ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας.

It also presents a scarcely disguised third instance :

δόξαν ἀπέλιπε παρὰ τοῖς ζῶσιν ὡς εἴη τεθνηκώς.

Surely this is merely an alteration of

δόξαν ἀπέλιπε παρὰ τοῖς ζῶσιν ὡς τεθναίῃ.

The rest of the argument has all the appearance of being only slightly distorted out of political form.

It is difficult to express logically the exact reasons for regarding a particular piece of prose as a modification of a passage originally written in a specified kind of metre. There is an element of subjectivity in the matter. But I venture to argue that, on the doctrine of chances, it is so overwhelmingly improbable that this piece of prose should appear in its present form, unless it had originally been written in the political metre, that we are bound to regard it as proved—not indeed mathematically, but nevertheless beyond reasonable doubt—that we have before us a prose modification of a political original.

If that is so, it at once becomes a matter of some importance to examine whether the writer of *versus politici* has confined his activities to the production of a preface, or whether, on the other hand, he has also taken in hand the task of providing any, and, if so, which, portions of the play itself, with a political paraphrase.

If we turn to the first chorus (ll. 107–37) we find strong political traces, but not very much more than traces. Apart from portions of *versus politici*, we are brought face to face with two complete political lines, viz. :

(ll. 115–7) γεραῖέ σύ τε τάλαινα, μάτερ, ἃ τὸν Ἀῖδα
and

(ll. 125–6) γέροντα παρακόμιζε τὸ πάρος ἐν ἡλίκων.

If, on the other hand, we pass on to the second chorus, ll. 348-441, we are confronted with evidence of the most positive character. A vast number of the lines of which the chorus is composed are of the exact length either of the first or of the second portion of a political line of the most normal type, and the simplest transpositions over and over again result in the production of the true political metre.

For example, the first line of the chorus (l. 348),

αἴλιον μὲν ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ,

is in every way the first portion of a *versus politicus*.

The third line (l. 350) runs :

τὰν καλλίφθογγον κιθάραν.

But it becomes the first portion of a *versus politicus* if we transpose and read :

κιθάραν τὰν καλλίφθογγον.

l. 358, τοῖς θανούσιν ἄγαλμα,

conceals the second portion of a *versus politicus*, viz. :

ἄγαλμα τοῖς θανούσιν.

Without transposition, l. 361,

πυρσῶ δ' ἀμφεκαλύφθη,

is the second portion of a *versus politicus*.

ll. 373-4, πληροῦντες χθόνα Θεσσαλῶν
ἵππείαις ἐδάμαζον,

form together a complete *versus politicus*, if only with the slightest of transpositions we read :

πληροῦντες χθόνα Θεσσαλῶν ἐδάμαζον ἵππείαις.

It would be easy to go through the whole chorus in the same way ; but I think that I have sufficiently developed my argument.

What is by no means easy to determine is whether the existing text results from a mixture of a political paraphrase

with the Euripidean original, or whether it is a deliberate attempt to reconstitute a classical chorus out of the paraphrase after the original had entirely perished. On the whole, I incline to the latter opinion, chiefly because traces of political scansion seem to me to crowd upon one another from the beginning to the end of the chorus.

In the third chorus (ll. 637–700) the evidences of a political paraphrase are not quite so well marked; but they exist in plenty.

It will be enough to quote ll. 655–6 :

εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ξύνεσις
καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας.

A minute alteration in the second of these two lines results in the production of a perfect *versus politicus*, viz. :

εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ξύνεσις σοφία τε κατ' ἄνδρας.

The same is true of the fourth chorus (ll. 735–821). We have, for example, a complete *versus politicus* in ll. 798–9 :

ὦ λέκτρων δύο συγγενεῖς εὐναί, θνατογενοῦς τε.

The fifth chorus (ll. 875–921) is of quite a different character, consisting in part of indifferent dochmiacs.

The sixth chorus (ll. 1016–86) also contains dochmii, some of them quite impossible, and shows no trace of political influence.

I am not concerned in this book with corruption due to political paraphrase, except in so far as such corruption has a bearing on my subject matter. Therefore I think that I have no call to speak of it here at greater length. I have already, I conceive, invalidated any and every example of the metrical phenomenon, with which my concern lies, that presents itself in the *Hercules Furens*—invalidated them, that is to say, as reasonable evidence of anything approaching to classical usage. They retain quite another validity: they may be used, and rightly used, as evidence of the opinion of some scholar or other (possibly Triclinius) of what is permissible in lyric poetry. But the opinion of the Middle Ages on the point is known

to us *aliunde*. The words *ἀντὶ μῆας* are a fairly familiar Triclinian note.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 107–37)

The chorus consists of a strophe, an antistrophe, and an epode.

The strophe and antistrophe, which contain twelve lines each, present twelve examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

In view of the circumstances of this play, as mentioned by me in the introductory notes, and in view of the extraordinary accumulation of instances of the phenomenon within the space of a few lines, and also in view of the fact that the chorus reads very fairly smoothly, and not at all as if it had been seriously corrupted, I am disposed to regard its metrical features as, at any rate in the main, due to whatever person translated back the political version into more or less classical metre.

Therefore any attempt at emendation would be out of place. To emend, one would have first to reconstruct the political version, and then from that again to reconstruct the original. Such a task is obviously impossible, though in certain other plays I think that I am not altogether unsuccessful in restoring here and there something that the political version must at any rate have rather closely resembled.

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L AND M

Here are the strophe and antistrophe, so set forth as to exhibit plainly the instances of the disputed phenomenon :

(a) ll. 107–18.

- | | | |
|-------|---|------|
| A, B. | <i>ὑπώροφα μέλαθρα</i> | στρ. |
| C. | <i>καὶ γεραῖα δέμνι', ἀμφὶ βάκτροις</i> | |
| D. | <i>ἔρεισμα θέμενος, ἐστάλην ἠηλέμων</i> | |
| E. | <i>γόων ἀοιδός, ὥστε πολὺς ὄρνις,</i> | 110 |
| F. | <i>ἔπεα μόνον καὶ δόκημα νυκτερωπὸν</i> | |

- G. ἐννύχων ονείρων,
H, I. τρομερὰ μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως πρόθυμα.
K. ἰὼ τέκεα, τέκεα (Hermann ὦ for ἰὼ, and
τέκεα once only), πατὸς ἀπάτορ, ὦ
L. γεραῖέ, σύ τε, τά- 115
M. -λαινα μάτερ, ἅ
τὸν Ἀῖδα δόμοις
πόσιν ἀναστενάξεις.

(b) ll. 119-30.

- A, B. μὴ προκαμήτε πόδα ἀντ.
C. βαρὺ τε κῶλον, ὥστε πρὸς πετραῖον 120
D. λέπας ζυγηφόρον πῶλον ἀνέντες, ὡς
E. βάρος φέρων τροχηλάτοιο κῶλου.
F. λαβοῦ χερῶν καὶ πέπλων, ὅτου λέλοιπε
G. ποδὸς ἀμαυρὸν ἵχνος.
H, I. γέρων γέροντα παρακόμιζε, 125
K. τὸ πάρος ἐν ἡλίκων πόνοις
L. ὦ ξύνοπλα δόρατα
M. νέα νέω ξυνῆν
ποτ', εὐκλεεστάτας
πατρίδος οὐκ ὀνείδη. 130

This chorus is quite peculiar in its luxuriance of examples, and cannot, I think, owe its form to the same hand or hands that dealt with the other choruses of this play that show signs of having gone through a political stage. In their case the examples of the phenomenon are so few that there arises no presumption that they are inherent in the composition. Consequently one has to see whether they will or will not readily yield to emendation.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 348-450)

This chorus, which consists entirely of three rather long strophes and antistrophes, presents only three examples of the phenomenon under discussion (two in the second and one in the third strophe and antistrophe).

A AND B

In the fifth line of the second strophe (an iambic dimeter acatalectic) the third foot is a tribrach: in the corresponding antistrophic line the third foot is an iamb.

In the sixth line of the second strophe (an iambic trimeter catalectic) the fourth foot is an iamb: in the corresponding antistrophic line the fourth foot is a tribrach.

Under the peculiar circumstances it seems to me to be *a priori* quite an open question, and altogether apart from any conclusions towards which this tractate as a whole may lead, whether or no all or any of the examples of the phenomenon which in classical texts I dispute are in some sense original in this chorus. But, as these two instances are accompanied by clear corruption, and as there is only one other instance in this chorus, it seems to me more probable than not that the reconstitutor (I am assuming for reasons that I have already given that there was a reconstitutor) did not avail himself of the licence in question.

The passages are these:

(α) ll. 382-6. Διομήδεος, αἰ φονίαισι φάτναις
ἀχάλιν' ἐθόαζον
κάθαιμα σῖτα γέννυσι, χαρμοναῖσιν
ἀνδροβρῶσι δυστράπεζοι.
περὼν δ' κτλ.

(β) ll. 396-400. χρυσέων πετάλων ἀπὸ μηλοφόρον
χερὶ καρπὸν ἀμέρξων,
δράκοντα πυρσόνωντον, δς ἄπλατον
ἀμφ' ἐλικτὸν ἔλικ' ἐφρούρει,
κτανών.

For ἀμφ' ἐλικτὸν in the antistrophe Scaliger read ἀμφελικτὸς. Theodore Bergk suggested ζάπλουτον for ἄπλατον, in order to make the previous syllable long. I am inclined to agree with Bergk, and it is, of course, evident that Scaliger is, at any rate, on the right lines, as indeed most scholars admit he usually is. But it seems quite impossible to refer in one breath to the serpent as

ἀμφελικτός and to the tree as a ἔλιξ. The conjunction is only compatible with a play upon words, and such a play upon words appears to be out of the question. Therefore I incline to the opinion that ἔλικ' is merely the -ελικ- of ἀμφελικτός, accidentally repeated, and that the real accusative is missing. Now if we carefully consider the expression *μηλοφόρον καρπόν*, we see that it is quite unintelligible, unless we change the accent so as to read *μηλόφορον καρπόν*. But *μηλόφορον καρπόν* is an extraordinary periphrasis, if the sense to be conveyed is simply 'an apple.' On the other hand, it would be a most natural description of the fruit of the mistletoe. Therefore I am much tempted to read the antistrophic passage thus :

χρυσέων πετάλων ἀπὸ μηλόφορον
χερὶ καρπὸν ἀμέρξων,
δράκοντα πυρσόνωτον, ὃς ζάπλουτον
ἀμφελικτὸς ἱξὸν οὔρει,
κτανών.

The verb οὔρειν, 'custodire,' is mentioned by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius iv. 1618, and several times in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Wakefield changed χρυσέων into χρύσειον, and *μηλοφόρον* into *μηλοφόρων*. It seems to me very much simpler to alter the accent of *μηλοφόρον*, and to leave χρυσέων untouched. But, in that case, the reference is almost inevitably to mistletoe. The editors have followed Wakefield, though apparently no one has explained how the supposed corruption came into being.

I am well aware that the antistrophic reading I have proposed is in a sense guess-work ; but I think that the guesses are directly suggested by the text.

So much for example B. In the case of example A, the fault, if any, manifestly lies in the strophe. ἀχάλιν' is taken adverbially with ἐθόαζον, which itself is an extraordinary word in the context. But it seems impossible to have both ἀχάλιν' and γέννσι in the same clause : ἀχαλίνοις would be imperatively demanded. Therefore, as a possible improvement, I would suggest that for σίτα γέννσι we might read σίτ' ἀνευθε. The mares would take their horrid

repast in a place remote from that of the rest of their kind, and (if by any chance I have hit on the right reading) there is a distinct reminiscence of the description of Thyestes' banquet in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1595 :

ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος.

C

The ninth and tenth lines of the third strophe together make a lyrical trimeter with its fourth foot an iamb : the corresponding lines of the third antistrophe together make a lyrical trimeter with its fourth foot a tribrach.

The lines are these :

(a) ll. 416-7. τὰ κλεινὰ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἔλαβε βαρβάρου κόρας

(b) ll. 433-4. βίου κέλευθον ἄθεον ἄδικον· ἐς δὲ σὰς

I see no reasonable possibility of emendation, and I should consider that in all probability the reconstitutor of the text was unaware that the rules of strophe and antistrophe require syllabic correspondence between lyrical senarii as strictly as they do in the case of lines of any other description.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 637-700)

This chorus consists entirely of two rather long strophes and antistrophes. It presents three real examples of the phenomenon which I am discussing, and one apparent example, which last is properly speaking an instance of the transposition of the dactyl of a glyconic line (see my introductory notes to the play known as Euripides' *Electra*, and my discussion of the first chorus of that play).

I conceive that all four instances, except possibly the first, are original, in the sense that they proceeded from the pen of the reconstitutor. The last three are deeply embedded in the text, and cannot, so far as I can see, be taken out of it without rending it in pieces.

A

In the sixth line of the first strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: in the sixth line of the first antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 642. φάρος ἐπικαλύψαν

(β) l. 660. μέτα, καὶ θνατοὶ

The contexts are these:

(α) ll. 637-44. ἄ νεότας μοι φίλον· ἄχ-
-θος δὲ τὸ γήρας αἰεὶ
βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων
ἐπὶ κρατὶ κεῖται, 640
βλεφάρων σκοτεινὸν
φάρος ἐπικαλύψαν.

μή μοι μήτ' Ἀσιήτιδος
τυραννίδος ὄλβος εἶη κτλ.
(β) ll. 655-62. εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ξύνεσις 655
καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας,
δίδυμον ἂν ἦβαν ἔφερον
φανερὸν χαρακτῆρ'
ἀρετᾶς ὅσοισιν
μέτα, καὶ θνατοὶ 660
εἰς τὰς αὐγὰς πάλιν ἀλίου
δισσοὺς ἂν ἔβαν διαύλους.

ll. 660-1 have been best emended by Dobree into the form:

μέτα καταθανόντες τ'
εἰς αὐγὰς πάλιν ἀλίου.

It is quite possible to read *καταθανόντες* instead of *καταθάνοντες*, but it is not easy to see how anything but *καταθάνοντες* can have given rise to *καὶ θνατοὶ*. The rest of the chorus seems to show that the reconstitutor had no objection to the phenomenon in question. Therefore I leave *καταθάνοντες* as the most probable reading.

The *Hercules Furens*, if I am at all right in my conclusions, must have had at least three separate hands at work in its reconstitution. The choruses show three quite different views of the permissibility of the phenomenon which I am investigating. There is the view which, when acted on, puts one example, or even two examples, in nearly every line: there is the view which is so doubtful about the phenomenon, as hardly, if at all, to venture to make use of it; and there is the middle view, apparent in this chorus, which admits the phenomenon, but with restraint and moderation.

I can only draw from these facts the conclusion that the choruses of the play were reconstituted not by a great master in person, but by his pupils or assistants, to whom he probably apportioned their several spheres of work.

B

In the fourth line of the second strophe (a glyconic) the second foot is a dactyl, and the third foot a trochee: in the corresponding antistrophic line the second foot is a spondee, and the third foot a dactyl. In other words, the strophic dactyl and the trochee that follows it have in the antistrophe been transposed, with the additional feature that in the antistrophe the trochee is changed into a spondee. I have occasion to remark in my notes on the first chorus of the "Euripidean" *Electra* that there substitution almost invariably accompanies transposition.

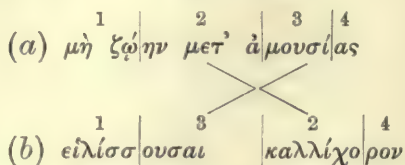
It is most interesting to find the same trait presenting itself in connexion with this isolated case of transposition in the *Hercules Furens*. I regard it as strong evidence that the reconstitutor of this chorus had studied with care and intelligence the metres either of the *Electra* itself or else of some other early but post-classical production.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 676. *μη ζῶην μετ' ἀμουσίας*

(b) l. 690. *εἰλίσσουσαι καλλίχορον*

But this is a superficial method of presenting the correspondence. The true method is :



I can see no possible reason for supposing that this correspondence is due to corruption. It is due to the reconstitutor of the chorus, and argues considerable learning on his part.

C AND D

The tenth and eleventh lines of the second strophe are of exactly identical scansion. Each of them consists of two tribrachs, a dactyl, and a long syllable. The two corresponding antistrophic lines substitute for the second tribrach a spondee. As from the whole run of the passage it is apparent that the tribrachs, which are interchanged with spondees, stand not for iambs but for trochees, we must take the two first, not the two last, short syllables of each tribrach as answered by a long of a spondee.

These are the lines :

- (a) ll. 682-3. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\epsilon \text{ } \underline{\text{B}\rho\acute{o}\mu\iota\omicron\nu} \text{ } \omicron\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{o}\tau\alpha\nu$
 $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\epsilon \text{ } \underline{\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\nu\omicron\varsigma} \text{ } \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$
- (b) ll. 696-7. $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \acute{o} \text{ } \underline{\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma} \text{ } \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ } \delta' \text{ } \epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$
 $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omicron\nu \text{ } \underline{\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu} \text{ } * * *$

This is the antistrophic context :

- ll. 696-700. $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \text{ } \acute{o} \text{ } \underline{\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma} \text{ } \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ } \delta' \text{ } \epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$
 $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omicron\nu \text{ } \underline{\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu} \text{ } * * *$
 $\mu\omicron\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \tau\acute{o}\nu \text{ } \acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\mu\omicron\nu$
 $\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu \text{ } \beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\nu \text{ } \beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma,$
 $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\varsigma\alpha\varsigma \text{ } \delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \text{ } \theta\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu.$

700

In l. 697 Pflugk changed $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omicron\nu$ into $\kappa\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, an alteration which greatly improves the sense. Adopting Pflugk's $\kappa\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, Nauck substitutes $\tau\acute{o} \text{ } \delta'$ for $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ } \delta'$ in l. 696. This

suits the strophic metre. It seems to follow that one ought similarly to read ὑπερβαλὼν for ὑπερβάλλων in l. 697. The lacuna in that line was filled up by Tyrwhitt with the word ἀρεταῖς. Nauck suggests ἀρετᾶ, which seems better in the context.

Thus we arrive at :

Διὸς ὁ παῖς· τὸ δ' εὐγενίας
κλέος ὑπερβαλὼν ἀρετᾶ,
μοχθήσας τὸν ἄκυμον
θῆκεν βίοτον βροτοῖς,
πέρσας δείματα θηρῶν.

700

There may be doubts as to individual words, and even as to minor points of metre (in τὸ δ' and ὑπερβαλὼν); but there is no doubt as to anything important.

In the strophic passage there seems equally no room for doubt. Βρόμιον and χέλυσ are both as certain as anything can well be. The unclassical nature of the couplet in which those two words occur is shown by the expression παρά τε . . . παρά τε. Good Greek would require παρὰ μὲν . . . παρὰ δὲ. τε is not used, followed by another τε (in the sense 'both . . . and'), to couple two cases of the employment of the same word. But τε can be used even in the event of the repetition of a preposition, provided that it stands not immediately after the preposition, but after something which the preposition governs. See my note on *Electra* ("Euripides") 445.

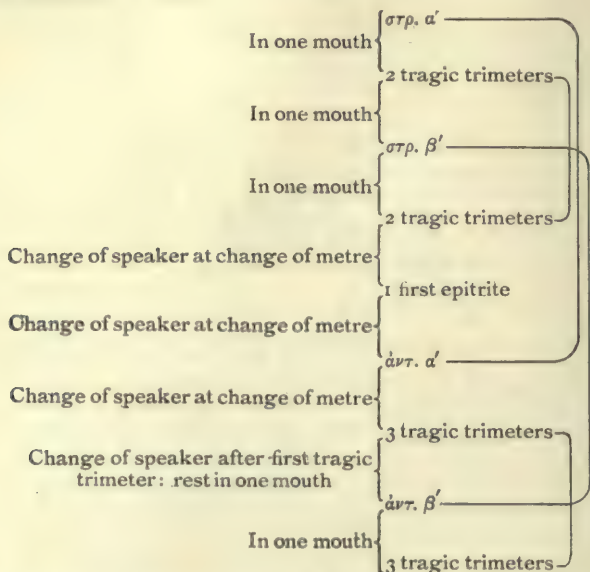
There can be little or no doubt that the equation of a long with two shorts is in these cases due to the reconstitutor himself. I invite the attention of the reader to the way in which instances of the phenomenon that occur in passages which on general grounds I consider non-classical resist that process of emendation which in clearly classical passages is usually, if not right, at least extremely easy.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 735–821)

This chorus falls into three divisions. The first extends from l. 735 to l. 762, the second from l. 763 to l. 814, and the third from l. 815 to l. 821.

The first division consists of indifferent dochmii, with tragic senarii and one first epitrite interspersed.

The scheme is this :



The want of symmetry, which this scheme displays, is proof positive of considerable corruption. It also shows that the corruption is not solely accidental. The scheme, though exceedingly asymmetric, nevertheless presents an equality of parts, which must be the result of design, not of accident. A process of rewriting seems to be the only process by which the existing text can have been produced.

The most probable hypothesis is that this portion of the chorus became so corrupt that it was found impossible to distinguish accurately between dochmiacs and senarii, and that in consequence in the rewriting a division into dochmiacs and senarii was made, which was not the same as the original division. The new division was made with complete regard to the principle of the equality of corresponding parts, but with considerable disregard of the other principle of the disposition of parts so as to form a symmetrical whole.

The division of the chorus as it stands speaks for itself.

Under such circumstances it would be idle to attach

evidential value to the instances of the disputed phenomenon, which these lines present. They are five in number.

A, B AND C

The first and second lines of the second strophe consist respectively of two cretics (which are presumably meant to form one dochmius), and of a dochmius of the regular type, $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$: the first and second lines of the second antistrophe consist respectively of two fourth paeons (which are presumably meant to form one dochmius), and of a pseudo-dochmius of the form $---\cup-$.

These are the lines :

- (a) ll. 742-3. *χαρμοναὶ δακρύων*
 ἔδοσαν ἐκβολάς
 (b) l. 757. *τίς ὁ θεοὺς ἀνομία*
 χραίνων θνητὸς ὦν

It will be observed that the numeration of the strophe and that of the antistrophe are entirely out of harmony.

For *τίς ὁ θεοὺς* Paley proposed *τίς θεοὺς* (he thought *τίς ὁ θεοὺς* to be an anapaest). But as it is apparent that the cretic *δακρύων* is answered by the fourth paeon *ἀνομία*, I fail to see why, on the same late theory of metre, the cretic *χαρμοναὶ* should not similarly be answered by the fourth paeon *τίς ὁ θεοὺς*. Neither, in a passage so much rewritten as this, do I propose to touch the correspondence of *ἔδοσαν* and *χραίνων*.

D AND E

The fourth line of the second strophe consists of a dochmius of the perfectly legitimate form $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup-$ (but the last syllable is long on such a theory only as allows the short last syllable of a choric line, in defiance of synapheia, to be treated as long): the corresponding antistrophic line consists of an altogether legitimate dochmius of the type $\cup\cup\cup-\cup\cup\cup$.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 745. οὐποτε διὰ φρενὸς
 (β) l. 757. οὐρανί-
 -ων μακάρων κατέβαλ'

As there is little or no correspondence between the words immediately preceding the lines in question, and as it is utterly impossible to say to what extent the rewriter may have been prepared to deviate from classical dochmiac rules (it is fairly evident that he knew the main rules, but also fairly evident that he thought there were permissible licences), I am neither prepared to say that the text presents anything widely different from what he wrote, nor yet to accept it as it stands: still less am I prepared either to accept any emendation that has been proposed, or on my own account to suggest any alteration.

F, G, H, I AND K

With the last five instances of the phenomenon in question which this chorus presents it seems useless to attempt to deal.

At the beginning of the fifth strophe we encounter what appear to be very imperfect *disiecta membra* of *versus politici*. These have been put back into something like lyric metre in such a way as to make it hopeless even to get at an approximation to the real *versus politici* themselves. The whole of the rest of the chorus, though intelligible enough for the most part, defies reasonable textual emendation; and the same is true, even to a much higher extent, of the three subsequent choruses of this play, none of which can so much as be divided into strophe and antistrophe, and therefore fortunately present no example of the phenomenon I am investigating.

I will simply catalogue the five instances.

F

In the eighth line of the fifth strophe, a lyrical senarius, the third foot is an iamb: in the eighth line of the fifth antistrophe, also a lyrical senarius, the third foot is a tribrach. It is to be observed that there is anacoluthon between the strophic line and the line which immediately follows it.

Here are the lines presenting the phenomenon :

(a) l. 770. κρατεῖ, λιμένα λιπών γε τὸν Ἀχερόντιον

(b) l. 779. νόμον παρέμενος, ἀνομία χάριν διδούς

G

In the eleventh line of the sixth strophe the third and fourth syllables are two shorts: in the eleventh line of the sixth antistrophe one long is substituted. At the end of the strophic line a short syllable stands *in hiatus*.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 791. Μουσῶν θ' Ἑλικωνιάδων δώματα

(b) l. 808. Πλούτωνος δῶμα λιπὼν νέρτερον

H

In the thirteenth line of the sixth strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the thirteenth line of the sixth antistrophe one long is substituted. After the strophic two shorts there is a redundant short in the MSS.

These are the lines :

(a) l. 793. ἐμὴν πόλιν ἐμὰ τε τείχη (Heath ἐμὰ τείχη)

(b) l. 810. ἧ δυσγένει' ἀνάκτων (Canter's correction of the MSS. ἧδὺς γένει ἀνάκτων)

I AND K

In the fourteenth line of the sixth strophe the fifth and sixth syllables and the seventh and eighth syllables

are sets of two shorts apiece: in the fourteenth line of the sixth antistrophe these sets of two shorts each are replaced by two longs. The grammar of the antistrophic context is most perplexing.

The lines run thus:

- (a) l. 794. Σπαρτῶν ἵνα γένος ἔφανε (Hermann ἐφάνη)
 (b) l. 811. ἂ νῦν ἐσορᾶν φαίνει

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 875–921)

This chorus is a confused mass of corrupted metre, in which a large amount of dochmiac substructure is visible. No division into strophe and antistrophe appears feasible in the existing state of the text, and it is therefore impossible to detect examples of the phenomenon I am investigating.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1016–1085)

What is true of the fifth chorus is true of the sixth also.

SEVENTH CHORUS (ll. 1178–1213)

What is true of the fifth and sixth choruses is also true of the seventh chorus.

SUMMARY

The *Hercules Furens* presents twenty-nine examples of the phenomenon I am discussing. Of these, twelve occur within the limits of a series of eleven lines, and four sets of two each (one of these sets of two forming part of the twelve instances just mentioned) within the compass of single lines, while three other examples present themselves in a thoroughly corrupt environment. Eight examples remain over which do not *prima facie* occasion so much suspicion.

ELECTRA

This play is preserved only in Codex Laurentianus 32. 2 (Nauck's *C*) and its apographs, and in Codex Abbatiae Florentinae 172 (unknown to Nauck, and called by me *B*(2)).

Alone among the extant plays attributed to Euripides, it made its appearance in no printed edition until the year 1545.

I suspect the authenticity of the play.

The choric features of the *Electra* are peculiar.

The third strophe and antistrophe of the first chorus are composed on the theory that in the case of glyconic verses the dactyl may be placed in one position in the strophic line and in another position in the antistrophic line. This theory has left sporadic traces in various choruses of other plays (see for example Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 1124 and 1141). But here it has done more than that. The theory is essential to the correspondence of three strophic with three antistrophic lines (it is also at work in other parts of the chorus).

In the fifth chorus a long and characteristic metrical phrase is borrowed without alteration of quantity from the fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar. The author of the fifth chorus is so taken with the effect that he repeats the same metrical phrase in the same (the only) strophe: and of course it has to occur twice in the antistrophe also. But this is not all. The first time the metrical phrase occurs in the chorus, the conclusion of it reads for all the world like a most intentional verbal (not merely metrical) reminiscence of the words in which Pindar embodies the metrical phrase in question the first time that he uses it (that is to say, in the first strophe of the fourth Pythian. See, for details, my remarks on the fifth chorus).

These circumstances with regard to the first and fifth choruses of this play are so much at variance with what the other plays of Euripides would lead us to expect as to awaken peculiar suspicions; and of course it is notorious

that numerous scholars have heaped ridicule on the *Electra* as "absurd," "unworthy of encouragement," and the like.

The play is found in *C* and in *B*(2) (the separated second part of *B*). It therefore possesses precisely the same MS. authority as do the *Heraclidae*, *Supplices*, *Ion*, *Helen*, *Hercules Furens*, *Bacchae* (except that the latter part of the *Bacchae* is not in *C*), *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Iphigenia in Aulide*, and *Cyclops*. The apographs (which are not independent authorities) also contain it. But it was not published in the early printed editions of the works of Euripides. Indeed it was first printed by Petrus Victorius in 1545.

It seems difficult to suppose, in view of the appearance of the play in *C*—*B*(2) may have been unknown at the time—and in the apographs, that the Aldine and other early editors were unaware of its existence. It is at least arguable that it was rejected by them as unauthentic. If so, I should contend that they were not the men to reject an MS. play on the mere ground of internal evidence. If they rejected it at all, they must, I maintain, have rejected it on the ground of some tradition, then living, but now lost, which they thought strong enough to prevail against the testimony of the *litera scripta*.

There exists, apparently, no statement in any writer that enables us to assign a date, whether exact or approximate, to the production of the play; but the same is true of seven plays of Euripides besides the *Electra*. Therefore the fact cannot well be used to show that he never produced it at all.

The author of the *Christus Patiens* seems to show no acquaintance with the *Electra*; but that again can hardly be used as an argument, as he adapts only (leaving out doubtful adaptations) from the *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Troades*, *Rhesus*, and *Bacchae*.

What strikes me is the significant silence of antiquity. I can find no mention of nor quotation from Euripides' *Electra* in any writer earlier than Plutarch. Moreover, one would expect to find the play mentioned in Eustathius, or in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, or in Suidas. But apparently it is not.

In l. 625 occurs the accusative of the extremely rare word ἔρως. Eustathius, Hesychius, and the *Etymologicum Magnum* all have notes on ἔρως; but not one of them so much as hints that Euripides uses the word.

If the *Electra* is the work of Euripides, it is strange that the play is not so much as mentioned in the *Poetics* of Aristotle. It is true that Aristotle there refers to nine only of Euripides' plays; but the *Electra* may well be considered (if genuine) to have had an especial claim upon his attention. Not only does it seem to supply the last stage in the triple treatment of the same theme—a singular circumstance—by each one of the great tragedians; but, in addition, it exhibits Euripides (if it be Euripides) making a mock of the mode of ἀναγνώρισις employed by Aeschylus. Now Aristotle deals with ἀναγνώρισις at some length: he speaks specially of the ἀναγνώρισις in the *Choëphoroe*: he says not a word of the ἀναγνώρισις in the "Euripidean" *Electra*.

It is usually said that there is a quotation in Aristophanes' *Ranae* from the *Electra*: an examination of the Aristophanic passage tends to make it more probable that there is a quotation in the *Electra* from the *Ranae*.

ll. 432–41 of the *Electra* run thus:

XO. κλειναὶ νᾶες, αἳ ποτ' ἔμβατε Τροίαν	
τοῖς ἀμετρήτοις ἑρετμοῖς	
πέμπουσαι χοροὺς μετὰ Νηρήδων	
ἵν' ὁ φίλανλος ἔπαλλε δελ-	435
-φῖς πρῶραις κυανεμβόλοις	
εἰλισσόμενος,	
πορεύων τὸν τᾶς Θέτιδος	
κοῦφον ἄλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῇ	
σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τρωίας	440
ἐπὶ Σιμωνντίδας ἀκτάς.	

ll. 1309–22 of the *Ranae* run as follows:

AI. ἀλκύνες, αἱ παρ' ἀενάοις θαλάσσης	
κύμασι στωμύλλετε	1310
τέγγουσαι νοτίοις πτερῶν	

ρανίσι, χροά δροσιζόμεναι ·
 αἴ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας
 εἰειειειελίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες
 ιστότονα πηνίσματα, 1315
 κερκίδος αἰοιδοῦ μελέτας,
 ἔν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
 -φῖς πρόφραις κυανεμβόλοις
 μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους.
 οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου, 1320
 βότρυνος ἔλिका παυσίπνονον.
 περιβάλλ', ὦ τέκνον, ὠλένας.

It is quite clear from the whole context (Aeschylus is speaking) that the words

ἔν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
 -φῖς πρόφραις κυανεμβόλοις
 μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους

are a running together, so as to make grammar indeed, but not sense, of two or more genuine quotations from Euripides. If ἔπαλλε is taken as intransitive, Blaydes is certainly right in stating that “non liquet quomodo ab ἔπαλλε pendere queat dativus πρόφραις.” But if, with Thiersch, we take ἔπαλλε as transitive, and as governing μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους, then, though we have the nonsense we should desiderate, we have the grammar we should desiderate also. The dolphin ‘brandished oracles and 220 yard racecourses at the prows.’ There seems to be no authority for the intransitive use of πάλλειν, except such as can be gathered from its use in this passage, and from another line (476–7) in the same chorus of the *Electra*:

ἐν δὲ δόρει φονίῳ τετραβάμονες ἵπποι ἔπαλλον.

In l. 153 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*,

ἐκτέταμαι, φοβερὰν φρένα δείματι πάλλων,

the participle may perfectly well be transitive; and in Plato's *Cratylus* (407 A), which is actually cited by supporters of the intransitive signification, the clearest possible distinction is in fact drawn between the transitive

πάλλειν and the intransitive πάλλεσθαι (τὸ . . . ἡ αὐτὸν ἢ τι ἄλλο μετεωρίζειν . . . πάλλειν τε καὶ πάλλεσθαι . . . καλοῦμεν).

Hence it is very doubtful Aristophanes could in any case have used, or quoted, πάλλειν in an intransitive sense, and it is obvious that, if he did, he thereby ruined not only sense, which he wished to ruin, but also grammar, which, presumably, he did not wish to ruin.

In other words, either ἔπαλλε in the original Euripides, which Aristophanes quotes, was transitive, and governed some accusative, for which (probably from some other play of Euripides) Aristophanes maliciously substitutes *μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίου*: or else, but much less probably, ἔπαλλε was intransitive in the original Euripides, but *πρόφrais κυανεμβόλοις* was followed by some expression of such a character as to give those words a grammatical construction.

But in the text of the *Electra* not only is it absolutely necessary to take ἔπαλλε as intransitive, but, in addition to this, there is no possibility of pointing to any word or words on or from which the dative, *πρόφrais*, *pendere queat*.

Is not the natural conclusion that the writer (or rewriter) of the *Electra* has wished to give to his writing (or rewriting) the semblance of authority which accrues from the occurrence therein of a Euripidean passage quoted by Aristophanes, but that he has not had the perspicacity to see that the quotation in Aristophanes, which he incorporates in his text as a self-sufficient whole, is not a whole, but only a disjointed part?

I am inclined to argue that the word *εἰλίσσόμενος*, which occurs in the *Electra* immediately after *πρόφrais κυανεμβόλοις*, is really due to the *εἰεἰεἰεἰεἰεἰλίσσετε* of l. 1314 of the *Ranae*. At any rate the coincidence is remarkable. I also think that the intransitive ἔπαλλον (mentioned above) of l. 477 of the *Electra* is a mere reflex of the supposed intransitive use of ἔπαλλε in l. 1317 of the *Ranae*.

There is one passage in the *Electra* that seems to hint, or do more than hint, at a matter which never possessed topical interest at Athens, but which must have

possessed first-rate topical interest at Alexandria in the days of the Ptolemies.

Electra says (ll. 930-7) :

πᾶσιν δ' ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἤκουες τάδε·
 ὁ τῆς γυναικός, οὐχὶ τάνδρὸς ἡ γυνή.
 καίτοι τόδ' αἰσχρόν, προστατεῖν γε δωμάτων
 γυναῖκα, μὴ τὸν ἄνδρα· κακείνους στυγῶ
 τοὺς παῖδας, ὅστις τοῦ μὲν ἄρσενος πατρὸς
 οὐκ ὠνόμασται, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἐν πόλει.
 ἐπίσημα γὰρ γήμαντι καὶ μείζω λέχη
 τάνδρὸς μὲν οὐδεῖς, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν λόγος.

Much, at any rate, of this matter does not arise naturally from the circumstances of the play, but is dragged in violently, and, as it were, by the heels. The well-known Sophoclean reference (whether taken from Herodotus or not) to the relative positions of men and women in Egypt suits its context and does not mix up Egypt and Greece. This passage, on the other hand, if it was written by Euripides, describes, not as existing in a foreign land, but as if it existed in Greece, a state of things peculiar to Egypt. And it does so without real provocation.

I especially object (if they were written in Greece) to the words :

κακείνους στυγῶ
 τοὺς παῖδας, ὅστις τοῦ μὲν ἄρσενος πατρὸς
 οὐκ ὠνόμασται, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἐν πόλει.

Either those words ought to arise out of the action of the play, or else they ought to bear some topical significance. They do not arise out of the action of the play, because, though the *Electra* (ll. 62-3) states that issue were born to Aegisthus and Clytemnaestra, it nowhere implies that such issue were called after their mother rather than their father. They do not bear any topical significance, because the position of women in Greece was that which history shows it to have been.

But in the mouth of an Alexandrian of the Ptolemaic period the words would have been significant to the

highest degree. Before the coming of the Greeks to Egypt women, as compared with men, had risen to the position of predominant partners. Real estate vested not in the husband but in the wife: children were known not by a patronymic but by a metronymic title. In the curious mixture of Hellenism and barbarism, which prevailed under the Ptolemies, the position of the female sex must have provided subject matter for the most extreme differences of opinion between the two opposing elements in the population. The legal privileges of women were gradually diminished, though I take it that they in some measure survived to as late a date as that of Hypatia. At any rate man had regained most of his natural rights before the advent of the Romans. I naturally assume that the lines in the *Electra* mark some more or less acute stage in the secular struggle.

The *Marmor Albanum* in the Louvre offers no evidence as to the *Electra*. That part of the inscription which gave the Euripidean plays with initial letters between E and K is destroyed.

Plutarch, who lived *circa* 100 A.D., tells us in his *Life of Lysander* (15) that all the leaders of the Peloponnesian army were stirred to compunction and pity towards Athens on hearing *τινὸς Φωκέως ἄσαντος ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἡλέκτρας τὴν παράδοον, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὦ κόρα*, and on reflecting that Euripides was an Athenian.

Now the *παρόδος* in question is the very third strophe and antistrophe at the end of the first chorus, to which I have above taken particular exception.

Milton has immortalized the incident in his eighth sonnet: .

And the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.

If this tradition is true there is in one sense an end of the matter; though it would not necessarily follow that our existing *Electra* is a faithful preservation of even the main features of the Euripidean text. But I am much disposed to doubt. It is strange that silence

should not be broken for about 500 years. And it must be remembered that, on the assumption that the *Electra* is a forgery, it would be a most natural thing for the forger to seek to give it currency and credit by spreading abroad a story that a portion of it had been recited with momentous consequences upon an historical occasion.

The story itself seems hardly to bear investigation. The *πάροδος* is by no means of so moving a character as either to make it easily credible that the incident can actually have happened, or on the other hand to make it natural for the legend that it happened to grow up without the aid of some special *arrière pensée* on the part of some promulgator of the legend.

We see elsewhere that the texts of the Greek dramatists had in Roman imperial times already undergone most serious corruption. It is going a step further to suggest the possibility that Plutarch was mistaken as to the genuineness of an alleged play of Euripides, but it is a short step. I only suggest the possibility: I go no further. But if the *Rhesus* (wrongly, I think) is doubted, there exist far weightier reasons for doubting the *Electra*.

FIRST CHORUS (ll. 112-212)

This chorus consists of three strophes and antistrophes, and two *συστήματα*, arranged as follows:

στρ. α'	_____
συστ. α' (2 lines)	_____
ἀντ. α'	_____
στρ. β'	_____
συστ. β' (7 lines)	_____
ἀντ. β'	_____
στρ. γ'	_____
ἀντ. γ'	_____

The presence of the two *συστήματα* is sufficient to show that, if the play is genuine, there has at any rate been considerable recasting in this chorus.

For the purposes of my discussion it makes not the slightest difference whether the play is a rewritten play, originally composed by Euripides, or a play not by

Euripides at all. In either case, the results as regards the phenomenon I am investigating are the same.

The examples of the phenomenon in this chorus must be separated into two quite distinct classes—those that occur independently of the variation in place of a glyconic dactyl, and those that occur as a result of such variation in place.

The former class I regard as due to corruption of a text—I cannot say “of the text,” because I wish to leave it an open question whether that text is the original work of a forger or a rewriting based on a real Euripidean substratum. Why do I regard them as due to corruption? It is chiefly on the authority of the *Rhesus*. The *Rhesus* is clearly either a forgery, or else a rewritten version, rewritten perhaps owing to serious mutilation, of a Euripidean original. I take myself the latter view. Now the rewriting (or forgery) of the *Rhesus* and the forgery (or rewriting) of the *Electra* must both be attributed to much the same point of time. External possibilities and internal evidence indicate the second or first century B.C. And we know that the writing of tragedies was practised at Alexandria. The *Electra* may indeed well be due to some successor of the Pleiad. In the *Rhesus* the examples of the phenomenon I am discussing are so few in number, and yield so readily to emendation, that it seems impossible to believe that they were introduced by the rewriter (or forger). In other words, the Alexandrian school seems not to have regarded the phenomenon as strictly legitimate. Therefore I infer that the examples in the *Electra* are not original in the sense of having formed part of the work either of the forger, if this play was forged, or of the rewriter, if it was rewritten. Whether, if the play was only rewritten, any of them can have formed part of the work of Euripides himself is another question, and the answer to it by the reader will depend on the conclusion he draws from the long process of simple enumeration which forms the staple argument of this book.

The latter class, on the other hand, seem to be due to the forger (or rewriter) himself. The shifting of the

glyconic dactyl necessarily produces examples of the phenomenon, whenever the adjacent foot involved is not a trochee but a spondee. But they are examples of a very peculiar kind. They are really due not to a bald theory that in lyrics a long is convertible with two shorts at pleasure, but to a highly artificial way of looking at the glyconic line. It is no longer regarded, as lyric poetry ought to be regarded, analytically and syllable by syllable (I do not mean to say that there ought to be no synthesis in addition to the analysis), but, by an excess of synthesis, it is regarded as an organic whole, of which the indivisible atoms, so to speak, are feet. And these feet admit of transposition.

A view of this kind is so remote from the principles of the classical Greek lyric, that I do not think it can have come into being before the second century B.C. If Horace had ever written strophes and antistrophes, he might very possibly have constructed them on such a theory. The theory is quite rational; but it involves conceptions foreign to the lyric Muse.

The chorus presents two instances of the former class.

A

In the seventh line of the second strophe the first two syllables are two shorts: in the corresponding line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long. Add to this the fact that there is a long syllable missing at the end of the sixth line of the antistrophe, and that the seventh line of the strophe has its glyconic dactyl in one position, whereas the seventh line of the antistrophe has it in another (but not so as to produce an example of the phenomenon in question, owing to the fact that the adjacent foot involved is not a spondee but a trochee).

The passages are these:

(α) ll. 145-7. οἷς ἀεὶ τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶρ
 διέπομαι, κατὰ μὲν φίλαν
 ὄνυχι τεμνομένα δέραν

(b) ll. 162-4. οὐ μίτραις σε γυνή
 δέξατ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ στεφάνοις.
 ξίφεσι δ' ἀμφιτόμοις λυγρὰν κτλ.

The strophic reading seems to be sound. In the antistrophe Seidler (followed by editors) reads

οὐ μίτραισι γυνή σε.

But this reading presents us with a long syllable at the end of the strophic line answered by a short syllable at the end of the antistrophic line. I suggest that here, as often, a copyist has boggled at the division of one word between two lines. I would read, as a start :

οὐ μίτραισι γυνή δέ-
 -ξατό σ' * οὐδ' ἐπὶ στεφάνοις.

The missing syllable may very possibly be ἄρ'.

I think that μίτραισι was read μίτραις σε, and that σ' in the next line was consequently left out.

B AND C

In the ninth line of the second strophe, as compared with the ninth line of the second antistrophe, we find two separate examples of the phenomenon I am investigating—the first an ordinary example, but the second arising from the different place occupied in the two lines of the dactyl of the glyconic metre.

It is unfortunate that I cannot, owing to the occurrence together of these two examples, keep the two classes, which they respectively represent, as graphically distinct as I should like. Moreover I regret that the complication of the metre is such in the two lines involved, that it is out of the question to attempt any uncomplicated statement of the facts.

In the ninth line of the second strophe the feet are a tribrach, a dactyl, a trochee, and a long syllable (i.e. a syncopated trochee): in the ninth line of the second antistrophe the feet are a spondee, a spondee, a dactyl, and a long syllable (i.e. a syncopated trochee). This

means that we have two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. The initial tribrach of the strophic line is answered by the initial spondee of the antistrophic line. On the theory which underlay the possibility of such a correspondence in the minds of whatever metricians thought it possible, it is more likely that the two last syllables of the tribrach are answered by the second syllable of the spondee than that the two first syllables of the tribrach are answered by the first syllable of the spondee. The latter alternative would involve a disparity of length between a strophic and an antistrophic syllable not at the beginning of a line: that disparity is (as I have occasion in various places to remark) much more naturally assumed at the beginning of a line. Secondly, the dactyl of the strophic line forms the second foot: the dactyl of the antistrophic line forms the third foot. In the strophic line the third foot is a trochee: in the antistrophic line the second foot is a spondee. One might naturally expect that the inversion of the dactyl and trochee (the second and third feet) of the strophic line would result in the presentation by the antistrophic line of a trochee and a dactyl (as its second and third feet); or else, if we take the antistrophic line as the norm, we might expect that the inversion of its second and third feet, a spondee and a dactyl, would result in the presentation by the strophic line of second and third feet in the form of a dactyl and a spondee. In the former case a dactyl in the strophic line would be answered by a trochee in the antistrophic line, and a trochee in the strophic line by a dactyl in the antistrophic line: in the latter case a dactyl in the strophic line would be answered by a spondee in the antistrophic line, and a spondee in the strophic line by a dactyl in the antistrophic line. That is to say, in the former case there would be no example of the phenomenon I am investigating, but in the latter case there would be two such examples. As a matter of fact the variation in the two lines between a trochee and a spondee as the inversible foot adjacent to the dactyl has resulted in a mean between the two extremes. We find one example of the phenomenon in question. I must

caution the reader against counting syllables or employing any other merely mechanical device in order to ascertain here the syllables which correspond to other syllables. The correspondence is without exception the most involved that presents itself in any tragic chorus whatsoever, and cannot be understood except on the lines that I have indicated. It is incredible that such a correspondence should have anything of Euripides about it; but at the same time it cannot have been perpetrated except by a metrician of considerable ingenuity.

This is the rule-of-thumb view of the matter :

(a) l. 148. *χέρα τε κρᾶτ' ἀποκούριμον*

(b) l. 165. *Αἰγίσθου λῶσαν θεμένα*

My opinion is that the former of these two instances of the phenomenon in question is due to corruption, and is therefore a proper subject of emendation; but that the latter example is not due to corruption, but is the work of a forger (or possibly of a rewriter).

But, at the same time, I fear that no emendation of the former example can possess more than a low degree of probability. This does not involve as a consequence that the example can be regarded as a fairly strongly entrenched fortress of the metrical theory which I dispute. On the other hand, l. 148 is obviously corrupt at the very point of the tribrach with which I find fault.

The strophic context runs :

ll. 146-9.

*κατὰ μὲν φίλαν
ὄνυχι τεμνομένα δέραν,
χέρα τε κρᾶτ' ἀποκούριμον
τιθεμένα θανάτῳ σῶ.*

The *τε* of *χέρα τε* clearly cannot stand. Dindorf writes *δὲ* instead. But it is a very hard thing to suppose that a *δὲ*, plainly answering a *μὲν*, and coming at hardly any distance after it, should have been changed into *τε*. *χέρα τε* seems to me to imply some much more complicated corruption.

ἀποκούριμον is altered by J. Barnes to *ἐπὶ κούριμον*. It

is true that the adjective ἀποκούριμος does not occur elsewhere; but it is equally true that ἀποκουρά was an early Christian term for the tonsure. The tonsure was a pre-Christian institution, and there would be nothing surprising in the fact (could it be shown to be a fact) that both ἀποκουρά and the legitimately formed adjective ἀποκούριμος were in use in Alexandria before the time of Christ.

Most editors combine the emendations of Barnes and Dindorf, reading :

κατὰ μὲν φίλαν
ὄνυχι τεμνομένα δέραν,
χέρα δὲ κρᾶτ' ἐπὶ κούριμον
τιθεμένα θανάτῳ σῶ.

The real difficulty of this reading, apart from the δὲ, is the expression θανάτῳ σῶ in conjunction with the context. One can 'mourn *for* a death': one can hardly in any language be naturally said to 'set one's hand to one's shorn head *for* a death.' Attention ought to be paid to the natural appropriateness of expression, not to the bare grammatical possibility. Moreover κούριμον is extremely strange. It either agrees with κρᾶτ', in which case it must mean 'shorn,' or else with χέρα, when it would have to mean 'shearing.' If the head were already shorn, there would be no object in putting the hand to it. If κούριμον agrees with χέρα, there is a radical misuse of language. A hand may pluck out the hair, it cannot shear it. τίλλεσθαι τρίχας and κείρεσθαι τρίχας are two different things. To suppose that the hand applied to the head is a hand containing some cutting instrument is out of harmony with ὄνυχι τεμνομένα δέραν. Rending the cheeks and plucking out the hair go together: rending the cheeks and cutting the hair do not.

It is to be observed that in the words χέρα τε κρᾶτ' the syllable ρατ occurs twice over. That is the sole palaeographical clue that I am able to discover. If we leave out the first ρατ, we are left with χέε κρᾶτ' ἀποκούριμον. If we leave out the second ρατ we are left with χέρα τε κ ἀποκούριμον. On the assumption that the second of these

omissions is more probable than the first, and remembering that **Κ** often represents **Ι**, I would suggest that the second *ρατ* has replaced *μονδ*, and read :

κτερισμόν δ' ἀπὸ κορσέων
τιθεμένα θανάτῳ σῶ.

The form *κτερισμός* does not occur, but *κτεισμός* does in l. 529 of this very play. The plural *κόρσεα* is preserved in the 414th line of Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* :

βάμματι δ' ἐνδεύσαιο, καὶ εὖ περὶ κόρσεα πλάσσοις.

I think that the reading I suggest accounts amply for the *τε* of the text : it is merely the -*τε*- of *κτερισμόν*.

But I will support my reading on another ground. In order to make *τιθεμένα* go smoothly with the dative *θανάτῳ σῶ* (see what I have said above), it is necessary that it should be part of an idiomatic periphrasis with *τίθεσθαι*. *τίθεσθαι κτερισμόν* is merely a periphrasis for *κτερίζειν* (prose of course would use not *τίθεσθαι* but *ποιεῖσθαι*), and obviously *κτερίζειν* can be coupled with a dative.

Moreover, a glance at the end of the antistrophe will show that there is there an echo of the idiomatic *τίθεσθαι*.

We now come to three examples due to glyconic variations.

D

In the seventh line of the third strophe the feet are a spondee, a spondee, a dactyl, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee) : in the seventh line of the third antistrophe the feet are a spondee, a dactyl, a trochee, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee). Observe the variation in strophe and antistrophe between spondee and trochee. This, or the inverse, variation accompanies almost every instant of dactylic transposition in this chorus. It has greatly complicated example C. Here it causes no great complexity. On the evidence, I take it to have been very nearly a rule in the mind of the writer of the chorus, that substitution must accompany inversion.

If that is so, we are face to face with a highly artificial deviation from lyric simplicity.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 173. Ἀργεῖοι, πάσαι δὲ παρ' Ἥ-
-ραν
(b) l. 196. ἀλλ' εὐχαῖσι θεοὺς σεβί-
-ζουσ'

This antistrophic reading is not that of the MSS. They present :

ἀλλ' εὐχαῖς τοὺς θεοὺς γε σεβί-
-ζουσ'.

The emendation is Seidler's. It seems to me that the only choice is between on the one hand adopting it, and on the other hand supposing that τοὺς represents an original *τίουσ'*, in which latter case the line has gone hopelessly to pieces.

D is not very important in itself. It is one of a series.

The solitary example in the chorus of inversion without substitution is presented by ll. 168 and 191. They supply no instance of the phenomenon I am investigating. They run :

- l. 168. ἤλυθον, Ἠλέκτρα, ποτὶ σὰν ἀγρότειραν αὐλάν
l. 191. καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ χρῆσαι πολύπηνα φάρεα δύναι

Had inversion here been accompanied by substitution, the result would have been a complete dactylo-spondaic hexameter in the antistrophe. Hence the avoidance of substitution.

E

In the eighteenth line of the third strophe the feet are a spondee, a dactyl, a trochee, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee) : in the eighteenth line of the third antistrophe the feet are a spondee, a spondee, a dactyl, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee).

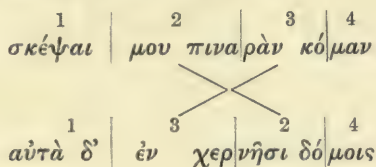
The lines are these :

(α) l. 184. σκέψαι μου πιναρὰν κόμαν

(b) l. 207. αὐτὰ δ' ἐν χερνῆσι δόμοις

Substitution accompanies inversion. In reality a dactyl plus a trochee in the strophic line (which by pure inversion would become a trochee plus a dactyl) appears, by the help of substitution, as a spondee plus a dactyl in the antistrophic line.

Superficially the two shorts of πιναρὰν are answered by the first long of χερνῆσι; but scientifically the correspondence should be presented thus :



F

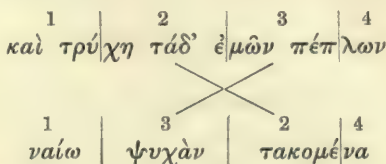
In the nineteenth line of the third strophe the feet are a spondee, a dactyl, a trochee, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee): in the nineteenth line of the third antistrophe the feet are a spondee, a spondee, a dactyl, and a long syllable (a syncopated trochee).

The lines are :

(α) l. 185. καὶ τρύχη τάδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων

(b) l. 208. ναίω ψυχὰν τακομένα

The instance is of course visual only. The true correspondence is :



The first syllable of πέπλων is certainly common, but it is more naturally and usually short than long. Conse-

quently the presumption is that here also variation between a trochee and a spondee presents itself in the foot adjacent to the shifting dactyl. If πέπλων were taken as having its first syllable long, there would be one more superficial example of the phenomenon I am discussing. The first syllable (a long) of πέπλων would, to the eye, be answered by the two middle syllables (two shorts) of τακομένα. But the presumption that the first syllable of πέπλων is short receives overwhelming support from the practice of the chorus writer to associate substitution with inversion.

I think that we may fairly safely take the first syllable of τρύχη as long here. It is far more consonant with the metrical scheme that it should be long than that it should be short. Besides, in l. 501 of this play we read :

ἐγὼ δὲ τρύχει τῷδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων κόρας.

Aeschylus never uses τρύχος. Sophocles employs the word in a fragment (*Fr.* 843) :

τρύχει καλυφθεῖς Θεσσαλῆς ἀπληγίδος.

There, of course, either quantity is possible.

Euripides (*Troades* 496) writes :

τρυχηρὰ περὶ τρυχηρὸν εἰμένην χροά.

Here, also, the quantity is absolutely uncertain.

Aristophanes (*Acharnians* l. 418) makes the *υ* long, writing :

τὰ ποῖα τρύχη.

But Posidippus (*circa* 290 B.C.) makes it short, writing :

χλαίνης ἐν τρύχει Περσίδος.

Apparently the whole weight of grammatical authority is in favour of τρύχος, not τρῦχος. But Aristophanes used τρῦχος, and so did the author of the *Electra*. We have seen elsewhere reason to suppose that the author of the *Electra* was a student of Aristophanes.

SECOND CHORUS (ll. 432-486)

A

In the fourth line of the first strophe the seventh syllable is a long: the fourth line of the first antistrophe substitutes for that long two shorts.

The lines are these:

(α) l. 435. ἴν' ὁ φίλανλος ἔπαλλε δελ-

-φῖς

(β) l. 445. ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρύ-

-μνας

I have discussed the strophic passage at some little length in my introductory notes to this play. But here a further point is raised by the want of correspondence between strophe and antistrophe. Are we to take (on the assumption, which at this stage of my book I have personally no hesitation in making, that a long and two shorts cannot properly stand in correspondence) the combined evidence of the text of the *Ranae* and of that of the *Electra* as proof that ἔπαλλε is sound, and that we have to look for the misreading to the second ἀνά of the antistrophic passage? Or, on the other hand, are we to regard the obvious difficulties (difficulties which I think I have satisfactorily accounted for) of ἔπαλλε as a ground for looking on ἀνά as sound, and on ἔπαλλε as corrupt?

Now, I admit that I consider the reaction through the centuries of the Euripidean and the Aristophanic text on one another as quite sufficient, under favourable circumstances, to import a corruption from the one into the other. Indeed I treat ἀδίκων ἔργων in *Hippolytus* 676, and ἀδίκους ἔργοις in *Thesmophoriazussae* 716, as mutually interdependent corruptions of μανικῶν ἔρων and μανικοῖς ἔροις respectively.

Therefore, if the antistrophic passage were not in itself highly suspicious, I should be prepared, in spite of the agreement of the text of the *Ranae* and of the *Electra*, to consider as a practical possibility the question of a strophic corruption.

But the faulty character of the Greek in the antistrophe removes all serious reason for doubting the strophe. ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρύμνας is, if not impossible, at any rate most improbable. It is to be observed that the first τε means not 'and' but 'both.' Now it is contrary to idiom to repeat the same word (here ἀνά) with a double τε, in the sense of 'both . . . and.' One ought to use μὲν and δέ in such a case. ἀνὰ μὲν Πήλιον ἀνὰ δὲ πρύμνας would be the proper expression. Aliter, if the same word is not repeated, even if a word substantially equivalent in meaning replaces it: thus, no possible exception could be taken to ἀνὰ τε Πήλιον κατὰ τε πρύμνας (see my emendation of *Andromache* 849). Aliter also, if the order were ἀνὰ Πήλιόν τ' ἀνὰ πρύμνας τε (see my emendation of *Helen* 342-3).

Let us look at the antistrophic passage as a whole. It runs:

ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τε πρύ-445
 -μνας Ὅσσας ἱερὰς νάπας,
 Νυμφαίᾱς σκοπιάς (then follows the verb,
 which has been seriously corrupted).

The verb is some form of, or cognate with, *μαστεύω*, and governs an accusative.

The double genitive πρύμνας Ὅσσας is very heavy, and the apposition of ἱερὰς νάπας with Νυμφαίᾱς σκοπιάς makes the sentence heavier still. An indispensable touch of lightness is restored if we read:

ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἔν τ' ἐρυ-
 -μνᾱς Ὅσσας ἱεραῖς νάπαις
 Νυμφαίᾱς σκοπιάς (ἐμάστευον or the like).

Or possibly ἐρεμνᾱς, not ἐρυμνᾱς, may be the original. Compare *Aeneid* i. 164-5:

Tum sylvis scena coruscis
 Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.

B

In the seventh line of the second strophe the seventh and eighth syllables are two shorts: in the seventh line of

the second antistrophe these two shorts are replaced by one long.

Here are the lines :

(α) l. 458. περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵτνος ἔδρα

(β) l. 470. ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοτύπῳ κράνει

In the strophic line ἔδρα makes hardly any sense. In order to arrive at what we ought to read, we must look at the whole of the strophe and the beginning of the antistrophe. They run thus :

Ἰλιόθεν δ' ἔκλυόν τινες ἐν λιμέσιν	στρ. β'
Ναυπλίοισι βεβῶτος	
τᾶς σᾶς, ὦ Θέτιδος παῖ,	
κλεινᾶς ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ	455
τοιάδε σήματα, δείματα	
Φρύγια, τετύχθαι·	
περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵτνος ἔδρα	
Περσέα λαιμοτόμον ὑπὲρ	
ἄλδς ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοι-	460
-σι φυὰν Γοργόνος ἴσχειν,	
Διὸς ἀγγέλῳ σὺν Ἑρμῇ	
τῷ Μαίας ἀγροτῆρι κούρῳ·	
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων	ἀντ. β'
κύκλος ἀελίοιο κτλ.	465

I must not discuss corruptions, however interesting, which do not involve the phenomenon that I am investigating.

Is it not plain that for ἵτνος ἔδρα we ought to read ἵτνισφ' ὁρᾶν, the ὁρᾶν being dependent on the ἔκλυον of l. 452? The υι diphthong almost invariably gives trouble. I think that it is more Greek, after ἔκλυον, to carry on the sentence with a statement that the speaker's informant saw so and so, than with a statement that so and so existed in fact. And in corroboration of this I would adduce the beginning of the antistrophe. The verb there is not ἦν but κατέλαμπε, which describes matter not as existing in itself but as existing for mind. I do not wish to carry this kind of argument too far; but to neglect it altogether would be to neglect the underlying principles of Greek idiom.

THIRD CHORUS (ll. 585–595)

The chorus here deliver a series of dochmii, some of which altogether defy regular scansion. But the main run of the metre is unmistakable. It would be by no means certain *a priori* that the forger or rewriter of the *Electra* would divide dochmii into strophe and antistrophe. But as a matter of fact the chorus falls into two equal halves, divided by a full stop. This fact makes the existence of strophe and antistrophe, of a sort, to all intents and purposes certain. But it is much less certain whether or no the would-be strophe and antistrophe were originally composed so as to preserve the rule of syllabic correspondence, or whether they were built up on the non-lyrical principle of answering dochmius by dochmius without reference to the presence or absence of resolution or the like. However, there seem to be sufficient traces of strict correspondence, in the midst of much correspondence that is by no means strict, to make it probable that the chorus was originally composed in accordance with classical rules. But, in any case, subsequent corruption has gone to such lengths that it is hopeless to attempt to get back to the original form. As it stands now, the chorus is a mere confused mass of dochmii and pseudo-dochmii.

Dividing it into strophe and antistrophe, and marking dochmii and corruptions of dochmii, we may present the chorus thus :

ἔμολες ἔμολες, ὦ χρόνιος ἀμέρα,	585	στρ.
κατέλαμψας, ἔδειξας ἐμφανῇ		
πόλει πυρσόν, ὃς παλαιᾷ φυγᾷ		
πατρῶων ἀπὸ δωμάτων τάλας		
ἀλαίνων ἔβα.		
θεὸς αὖ θεὸς ἀμετέραν τις ἄγει	590	ἀντ.
νίκαν, ὦ φίλα. ἄνεχε χέρας ἄν-	591–2	
-εχε λόγον ἱεῖ λιτὰς ἐς θεούς.		
τύχα σοι τύχα κασίγνητον ἐμ-		
-βατεῦσαι πόλιν.	595	

A careful inspection of the strophe and antistrophe will show that, although they present many anomalies

(among which must apparently be included three instances of the replacement by two short syllables of the initial iamb of a dochmius), nevertheless they exhibit only two examples of the phenomenon which is the subject of my investigation.

A

The second dochmius of the second line of the strophe is made to consist of a trochee plus a cretic: the most reasonable analysis of the second dochmius of the second line of the antistrophe seems to be the treatment of that dochmius (if I may call it a dochmius) as a pyrrhic, instead of an iamb, plus a paraceleusmatic (instead of a fourth paeon, i.e. a resolved cretic).

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 586. κατέλαμψας, ἔδειξας ἐμφανῇ
 (β) ll. 591-2. νίκαν, ὦ φίλα. ἄνεχε χέρας, ἄν-
 -εχε

The hiatus in the antistrophic line is eloquent. I shall not attempt emendation. Editors have regarded ἔδειξας ἐμφανῇ as a gloss on κατέλαμψας. It takes a good deal to get a gloss into the text, and to cut out ἔδειξας ἐμφανῇ is to destroy even the perverted remnants of strophic-antistrophic correspondence.

B

In the third line of the strophe the first dochmius is of the perfectly regular form, an iamb plus a cretic: in the third line of the antistrophe the first dochmius assumes the irregular form of a pyrrhic plus a fourth paeon.

These are the lines:

- (α) l. 587. πόλει πυρσόν, ὃς παλαιᾷ φυγᾷ
 (β) l. 593. ἄν-
 -εχε λόγον, ἴει λιτὰς ἐς θεούς

It is so absolutely manifest that the first dochmius of the antistrophic line is altogether different from anything that even in sub-classical times can have been regarded

as a legitimate dochmius, that I do not think there are any materials on which to base a conjectural emendation.

Neither of the examples in this chorus of the impugned phenomenon are even remotely of such a kind as to create a presumption of its legitimacy.

FOURTH CHORUS (ll. 699-746)

A

In the first line of the second strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the first line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

Here are the lines:

(a) l. 727. τότε δὴ τότε φαεινὰς

(b) l. 737. λέγεται, τὰν δὲ πίστιν

The antistrophic context is as follows (ll. 737-40):

λέγεται, τὰν δὲ πίστιν
σμικρὰν παρ' ἔμοιγ' ἔχει,
στρέψαι θερμὰν ἀελίου
χρυσωπὸν ἔδραν κτλ.

The use of τὰν with πίστιν and of σμικρὰν as a predicate is grammatically possible; but from the point of view of sense it is extremely awkward. Such an expression as ἡ γυνὴ τὰς χεῖρας σμικρὰς ἔχει is natural, but only because it is an antecedently known fact that women have hands. It is not an antecedently known fact that a statement has πίστις. Of course any sentence which involves the use of an object and of an adjective in agreement with that object can, grammatically speaking, be expressed with a definite article and a predicative adjective. But sense has to be considered. A man independently known to keep dogs might reasonably have said of him τοὺς κύνας μεγάλους ἔχει; but of a man not independently known to keep dogs one could only properly say (in one order or another of the words) μεγάλους κύνας ἔχει.

For τὰν δὲ Porson proposed τάδε δὲ. Now δέ im-

mediately following forms of ὅδε is always awkward, and it is difficult to see how τάδε should have become τάν.

I suggest with some confidence :

λέγεται, πάνν δὲ πίστιν
σμικρὰν παρ' ἔμοιγ' ἔχει.

This use of πάνν would be idiomatic in two ways.

σμικρός is one of the small group of words (including πολὺς, μακρός, and ὀλίγος) which are idiomatically combined with πάνν. No doubt πάνν can, even in the best Greek, be attached to other adjectives; but it has a special affinity to the group I have mentioned. Compare Aristophanes' *Plutus* (377):

ἐγὼ σοι τοῦτ' ἀπὸ σμικροῦ πάνν
ἐθέλω διαπρᾶξαι.

Compare also Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* i. 6. 39 τὰς μηχανάς, ἃς καὶ πάνν ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς θηρίοις ἐμχανῶ.

The latter example illustrates also the other way in which πάνν in the *Electra* passage would be idiomatic. It has a tendency to separate itself from its adjective. καὶ πάνν ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς θηρίοις is an idiomatic equivalent of καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πάνν μικροῖς θηρίοις. Aristophanes uses a similar separation (*Plutus* 198):

εὖ τοι λέγειν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθον πάνν.

I think that ΠΑΝΤΔΕ would easily pass into ΤΑΝΔΕ.

B

In the sixth line of the second strophe the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts (though by synizesis they may conceivably be scanned as one long): in the sixth line of the second antistrophe the place of these two shorts is taken by one long.

The lines run thus :

- (a) l. 732. θερμᾷ φλογὶ θεοπύρῳ
(b) l. 742. θνατᾶς ἐνεκεν δίκας

The proper solution is not to scan the θεο- of θεοπύρῳ as one long: the antistrophe is at fault.

The statement there is that the sun is said to have left his path *θνατᾶς ἔνεκεν δίκας*. The *θνατὰ δίκαια* (as is manifest from the earlier portion of the chorus) can only mean the solemn suit between Atreus and Thyestes for the possession of the throne, which was settled in favour of Thyestes on his fraudulent production of the golden ram in court.

θνατᾶς ἔνεκεν δίκας thus makes a sort of sense; but it is the sort of sense with which editors ought not to be content. The sun cannot with propriety be said to leave his course "because of a mortal law-suit." With still less propriety can he be said to leave his course because of a mortal *δίκη*. The word *δίκη*, which means 'justice' far more often than 'law-suit,' is singularly infelicitous in the context.

The reason of the sun's reported departure from his course was not the fact of a mortal law-suit, but the fact of the injustice, characteristic of mortals, shown in that law-suit.

Therefore I unhesitatingly follow Koechly in reading :

θνατᾶς ἔνεκ' ἀδικίας.

It seems to me that **ΕΝΕΚΑΔΙΚΙΑC** would most easily pass into **ΕΝΕΚΑΔΙΚΑC**, i.e. *ἔνεκα δίκας*. The strophic metre would compel the alteration of *ἔνεκα δίκας* into *ἔνεκεν δίκας*.

There are few things more deadly to the integrity of the text than corruptions which result in a kind of half-sense. Such corruptions are present by the hundred in Greek literature, and tend to create an impression in the minds of many readers that a classical author felt at liberty to express himself, regardless of propriety, in any way that was grammatical and in many ways that were not.

FIFTH CHORUS (ll. 859-865 and 873-879)

This chorus presents no example of the phenomenon which I am investigating; but, as I have observed in my introductory notes to this play, it exhibits another and a most astonishing peculiarity.

As this peculiarity cannot fail to have a bearing on the composition of the play as a whole, and incidentally on the authorship of the irregular glyconic lines of the first chorus, I cannot pass it by as irrelevant to the issue I am discussing.

The second and third lines of the strophe run thus :

ll. 860-1. ὥς νεβρὸς οὐράνιον πῆδημα κουφίζουσα σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ.

The second line of the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar is as follows :

στᾶμεν, εὐίπ|που βασιλῆι Κυράνας, ὄφρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλᾳ.

It is apparent that ll. 860-1 of the *Electra* are a metrical repetition, syllable for syllable, of

-που βασιλῆι Κυράνας, ὄφρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλᾳ.

The fourth and fifth lines of the strophe of this chorus (ll. 862-3) present exactly the same scansion :

νέ|κας στεφαναφορίαν οἷαν παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ρέεθροις τελέσας,

where, however, the MSS. present the unmetrical στεφανοφορίαν (see the metre of the antistrophic counterpart of the line).

The corresponding antistrophic lines are these :

ll. 874-5. κρατί· τὸ δ' ἀμέτερον χωρήσεται Μούσαισι
χόρευμα φίλον

ll. 876-7. νῦν | οἱ πάρος ἀμέτεροι γαίᾳς τυραννέουσιν
φίλοι βασιλῆς (so Seidler, excellently, for βασιλῆες)

It is almost impossible that mere coincidence should produce such an identity of metre extending over so many syllables. Any lyric writer, capable of producing this chorus, must at least have known that he was employing a long metrical phrase that was also employed in the Fourth Pythian.

But, more than that, the writer of the chorus has

most unmistakably allowed himself to be influenced not only by the metre but also by the actual diction of Pindar.

κουφίζουσα σὺν ἀγλαΐα,

standing where it does, is so strong an echo of

κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλῃ,

as to leave no room for reasonable doubt as to the imitative construction of the passage.

From this I infer that the composer was not sufficiently certain of the possibilities of lyrics to trust himself to work without a skeleton model.

I have myself worked with such models; and so, I suppose, have most other modern writers who have attempted lyrics.

I am of opinion that this chorus shows that at least part of the *Electra* was composed at a date when the composer had no longer access to a living tradition as to the rules of true lyrics, but that, in addition, it was composed with great care, and with close adherence, at any rate in places, to classical exemplaria.

I do not see any possibility of plausible argument in favour of assigning a Euripidean authorship to this chorus.

SIXTH CHORUS (ll. 1147-1232)

This chorus consists of four strophes and antistrophes, each antistrophe immediately following its strophe. But the first antistrophe ends before the dochmiac metre, in which it is composed, ends; and it ends in the middle of a choric song. The final dochmii of the choric song are consequently extravagantes. Then follows a dialogue and a choral ode, partly dochmiac, but including seven trimeters five of which come together. After this the second strophe begins with the beginning of a speech. The second antistrophe begins in the middle of a speech. So does the third strophe. The third antistrophe begins with the beginning of a speech. The divisions, however, of the fourth strophe and antistrophe are identical.

These facts with regard to the second and third strophe and antistrophe make it unnecessary for me to have recourse to details: by themselves they show that the chorus—or at least much of it—is not earlier than the Alexandrian period.

It presents thirteen examples of the phenomenon under discussion.

A

In the second line of the first strophe the first dochmius is of the most absolutely regular type $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$: in the second line of the first antistrophe the first dochmius is of the perfectly permissible type $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1148.

πνέου-

-σιν αἶραι δομων. τότε μὲν ἐν λουτροῖς

(b) l. 1156. διαδρόμου λέχους, μέλεον ἂ πόσιν

διαδρόμου λέχους refers to the *conjugium desultorium* of Clytaemnestra (Reiske). Nauck simply leaves the expression, with the remark "corrupta."

I am inclined to suggest διδύμνου λέχους. I wonder whether the corruption may be due to a recollection of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 12-13:

εἴτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροςόν τ' ἔχω
εὐνήν.

B

In the fourth line of the first strophe the second dochmius is of the type $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe the second dochmius is of the type $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$.

The lines are these:

(a) l. 1150. ἰάχησε δὲ στέγα, λαινοί

(b) l. 1158. Κυκλώπειά τ' οὐράνια τείχε' ὁ-
-ξυθήκτω

Here is the antistrophic context :

ll. 1156-9. μέλεον ἂ πόσιν
 χρόνιον ικόμενον εἰς οἴκους
 Κυκλώπειά τ' οὐράνια τείχε' ὁ-
 -ξυθήκτω βέλει κατέκαν' αὐτόχειρ.

For οὐράνια I am disposed to read οὔρια.

C

In the sixth line of the first strophe the first dochmius is of the type ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -: in the sixth line of the antistrophe the first dochmius is of the type ∪ ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -.

The lines are these :

- (a) l. 1152. σχέτλια, τί με, γύναι, φονεύεις φίλαν
 (b) l. 1160. πέλεκυν ἐν χεροῖν λαβούσα. τλάμων

Read ἐνὶ χεροῖν.

D

In the second line of the second strophe the last two syllables are two shorts : for these two shorts the second line of the second antistrophe substitutes one long.

These are the lines :

- (a) l. 1178. βροτῶν, ἴδετε τὰδ' ἔργα φόνι-
 -α
 (b) l. 1191. ἄφαντα φανερά δ' ἐξέπρα-
 -ξας

For φόνια I propose to read φαιά. I am unable to adduce any place where the adjective φαιός is used of the blackness of crime ; but I know of no reason why the word should not be so used. Of course, if I am right in my suggestion, we have here a reminiscence of the *Choephoroe*, though with a remarkable change of application to quite another feature of the same scene.

E, F AND G

In the fourth line of the second strophe the first syllable is a long: in the fourth line of the second antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts. In the strophic line the fifth and sixth syllables are two shorts: for those two shorts the antistrophic line substitutes one long. In the strophic line the last syllable is a long: for that long the antistrophic line substitutes two shorts, but by violation of synapheia, seeing that the line in question ends and the next line begins with a consonant.

It is particularly to be observed that the strophic line which I am discussing begins with a vowel, and that the preceding line ends with an unelided short vowel.

The passages are these:

(a) ll. 1178-81. ἴδετε τὰδ' ἔργα φόνι- (I have suggested *φαιὰ* for *φόνια*)

-α μυσσará, δίγονα σώματα

ἐν χθονὶ κείμενα, πλαγᾶ

χερὸς ὑπ' ἐμᾶς, ἄποιν' ἐμῶν πημάτων.

(b) ll. 1191-4. φανερά δ' ἐξέπρα-

-ξας ἄχρα, φόνια δ' ὥπασας

λέχε' ἀπὸ γᾶς Ἑλλανίδος.

τίνα δ' ἐτέραν μόλω πόλιν; τίς ξενος
κτλ.

The text, as it stands, ought to present not *ἀπὸ γᾶς* but *ἄπο γᾶς*, the tradition being that the static as opposed to the dynamic form of the word is *ἄπο*. It is clear that absence from, not motion from, is the meaning required.

There are two main considerations that lead me to interfere considerably with the existing text.

In the first place, it is fairly clear that we are dealing with corrupted dochmii; and that the corruption is serious is indicated by the two separate violations of synapheia, which I have mentioned above.

In the second place, I am struck with the curious *non sequitur* (I can think of no more precise term) in ll. 1193-4. Phoebus is described as having given to Aegisthus

and Clytaemnestra 'a bloody marriage-bed far from the land of Greece.' But then Orestes continues his speech with the words: 'But to what new city shall I fly?' There is no *ἐγώ* expressed. If there were, the meaning would be: 'They have gone to their long home; but, as for me, whither am I to go?' Without the *ἐγώ*, the collocation of *φόνια δ' ὥπασας λέχε' ἀπὸ γᾶς* 'Ελλανίδος and *τίνα δ' ἑτέραν μὲν πόλιν*; is positively absurd.

I propose to read:

- (a) ἴδετε τὰδ' ἔργα φαι-
 -ὰ μυσαρά, | δίγωνα σώματα |
χθόνια κείμενα χε-
 -ρὸς ὑπ' ἐμᾶς, ἄποιν' | ἐμῶν πημάτων. |
- (b) φανερά δ' ἐξέπρα-
 -ξας ἄχεα, | φόνια δ' ὥπασας |
λέχεα. ποῖ φυγὰς ἔτ' |
ἄρ' ἑτέραν μὲν πόλιν; τίς ξένος | κτλ.

Weil proposed *χθόνια*, but coupled it with alterations very different from those which I favour.

I suggest that the root of the corruption lay in **ΛΕΧΕΑΠΟΙΦΥΓΑΣ** being read, minus its **ΙΦΥ**, as **ΛΕΧΕΑΠΟΓΑΣ**, i.e. *λέχε' ἀπὸ γᾶς*, that 'Ελλανίδος was inserted to make some sort of sense, and that *πλαγᾶ* was, with very imperfect appreciation of metre, inserted in the strophe by way of balance.

The state of the text is sufficiently indicated by the fact that immediately after the strophic passage in question we find a lacuna of appreciable length.

H, I, K, L, M AND N

In the fourth strophe and antistrophe we have some very strange iambic dimeters, in which the expression *δέ γ'* twice occurs.

For example, in ll. 1224-5 Electra remarks:

*ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐπεκελευσά σοι,
 ξίφους τ' ἐφηψάμην ἄμα.*

This seems to me to savour of Aristophanes.
Compare *Ranae* (l. 221):

ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἀλγείν ἄρχομαι
κτλ.

The first line of the fourth strophe is a lyrical senarius, pure, except that its second foot is a tribrach: the first line of the fourth antistrophe is a lyrical senarius, pure, except that its third foot is a tribrach; but one of its feet is missing. Hence we have at any rate one example of the phenomenon I am investigating, and, unless it is the second foot of the antistrophic line that has disappeared, two examples.

In the third line of the fourth strophe the first syllable is a long, and the second and third syllables are two shorts: in the third line of the fourth antistrophe the first two syllables are short, and the third syllable may be taken as a long. In that case, there are two examples of the phenomenon I am investigating. But I am inclined to think that the third syllable of the antistrophic line is really short, so that we have no true example of the phenomenon at all, but only a dactyl answered by a tribrach.

In the fourth line of the fourth strophe the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts: in the fourth line of the fourth antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

In the fifth line of the fourth strophe the second syllable is a long: in the fifth line of the fourth antistrophe that long is replaced by two shorts.

The strophe and antistrophe run:

(α) ll. 1221-6.

OP. ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπιβαλὼν φάρη κόραις ἐμαῖ- στρ. δ'
-σι φασγάνῳ κατηρξάμαν
ματέρος ἔσω δέρας μεθείς

ΗΛ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἐπεκέλευσά σοι
ξίφους τ' ἐφηψάμην ἄμα.
δεινότατον παθέων ἔρεξα

(b) ll. 1227-32.

OP. λαβοῦ, κάλυπτε μέλεα ματέρος
πέπλοις, καθάρμοσον σφαγᾶς·
φονέας ἔτικτες ἄρά σοι

ἀντ. δ'

ΗΛ. ἰδοῦ, φίλαι τε κοῦ φίλαι·
φάρεα δέ γ' ἀμφιβάλλομεν,
τέρμα κακῶν μεγάλων δόμοισιν

1230

In l. 1227 W. Dindorf duplicates λαβοῦ. This treatment leaves H and I in possession of the field. I would tentatively suggest

λαβοῦ, μέλεα κάλυπτε ματέρος μέλη.

I think that the corruption would sufficiently be accounted for by confusion between the adjective μέλεα and the substantive μέλη.

It seems to me that examples K and L (ll. 1223 and 1229) have no real existence. φονέας has probably its last syllable short. In that case we have merely the equation of a dactyl and a tribrach at the beginning of a line, or, in other words, a variation in the quantity of an initial syllable. φονέα has its final syllable short in ll. 599 and 762 of this play, as also in l. 882 of the *Hecuba*, and, according to Liddell and Scott, in a passage in *Philemon*, which passage I have not been able to find. In Lycophron, l. 1038, the contracted φονῇ presents itself; and Tzetzes tells us that this is by Attic contraction. φονέα occurs several times in Sophocles in the first foot of a trimeter. It is disputable whether the Sophoclean use is to be explained as anapaestic, or as iambic with synizesis. In either case it seems to be the parent of the spurious scansion of the word as a tribrach. I imagine that a good many classical tragic usages may have originally been based on misconceptions of passages in earlier writers; but, in the case of this particular usage, I hardly think it can be strictly classical. The fact that two instances of it (out of a very small total) are found in the *Electra* is surely significant. φονῇFǣ would in most dialects produce φονῇǣ; but Attic metathesis gave rise to φονεᾶ. φονεᾶ

could only come into existence on the assumption that *φονῆᾱ* existed for a long enough time to allow the principle of correption *ante vocalem* to do its work. The facts of the Greek language appear to show that digamma was omitted at far too late a date for that to be the case. Sigma was omitted much earlier. Unquestionably, if the original form had been *φονῆσᾱ*, it might have become *φονέᾱ*; but that is quite a different matter. Be that as it may, whoever wrote *φονεᾶ* could also write *φονεᾶς*. If the one comes from *φονῆFᾱ*, the other comes equally legitimately from *φονῆFᾶς*; and we know that the author of the *Electra* used *φονεᾶ*.

Example M (in ll. 1224 and 1230) was cured by Musgrave, who wrote in the strophic line :

ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεγκέλευσά σοι.

Probably Musgrave is right. In any case, the reminiscence of the *Ranae*, which I have pointed out above, that is involved in the vulgate reading is quite farcical. I imagine that some one noticed that the *Electra* seemed in parts to be somewhat like Aristophanes, and, in particular, that the metre here was Aristophanic, and therefore thought fit to add a more definitely Aristophanic touch. Metrically there is no objection to the antistrophic line, but on grounds of sense Paley well suggests :

ἰδού, φίλα τε κοῦ φίλα.

But Nauck does still better in reading :

ἰδού, φίλα τε κοῦ φίλα.

Instance N (in ll. 1225 and 1231) is hardly more than graphic. In the antistrophic line we should surely read *φάρη* instead of *φάρσα*. The error is doubtless due to the common occurrence of the Epic *φάρσα*. The contracted *φάρη* actually occurs in l. 1221.

Will anyone, *μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, maintain that this chorus is the work of Euripides? And will anyone deny that, whoever wrote it, it is a clever piece of work?

SUMMARY

The *Electra* attributed to Euripides presents twenty-four examples of the phenomenon in question, and one further instance results from emendation. Of the twenty-four examples, two occur in manifestly corrupt contexts, one set of three and two sets of two each occur within the limits of single lines, and one of those two sets of two is more probably, by a different attribution of quantity, to be regarded as in reality furnishing a correspondence wholly free from the phenomenon under discussion. The fifteen instances that remain over are, in nearly every case, open to easy attack of one kind or another.

FRAGMENTS OF EURIPIDES

CRESPHONTES

FRAGMENT 462 (NAUCK)

No instances.

PHAETHON

FIRST EXTANT CHORUS

FRAGMENT 775 (NAUCK)

A AND B

In the second line of the second strophe the first two syllables are two shorts, and the fourth syllable is a long: the second line of the second antistrophe presents a long in place of the two shorts, and two shorts in place of the long.

The lines are these :

- (α) l. 34. *ἀνέμων τ' εὐαέσιν ῥοθίοις*
 (β) l. 38. *κῶμων δ' ὑμεναίων δεσποσύνων* (Palimp.
κοσμεινυμεναιωνδεδεσποσυναῶ)

This is one of the cases of very early corruption in which the duplication of the phenomenon I am investigating affords presumptive proof of transposition. Add to this that the short third syllable of *εὐαέσιν* is answered by the long last syllable of *ὑμεναίων*. No further evidence is needed.

I suggest :

εὐαέσι τε ῥυθμοῖς ἀνέμων.

In that case, as the *αι* of *ὑμεναίων* would be long to a copyist, and the *τε* before *ῥυθμοῖς* short, some change would probably be effected.

As a matter of fact the *αι* of *ὑμεναίων* is common, so that it makes no difference whether *τε* is or is not lengthened before the *ῥ*.

C

In the last line of the second strophe, which would be the eighth line if all the strophe were extant, the fourth and fifth syllables are two shorts : in the eighth and last line of the second antistrophe those two shorts are replaced by one long.

These are the lines :

- (α) l. 36. *σινδῶν δὲ πρότονον ἐπὶ μέσον πελάζει*
 (β) l. 44. *βαρὺν βαρεῖα φόβον ἔπεμψεν οἴκοις*

The antistrophic sentence is :

*εἰ δὲ τύχα τι τέκοι,
 βαρὺν βαρεῖα φόβον ἔπεμψεν οἴκοις.*

This is a novel kind of conditional sentence. The optative of indefinite frequency in the protasis can indeed be followed by an aorist in the apodosis ; but that aorist must have *ἄν*. An aorist with *ἄν* (the *ἄν* of repeated

action) can always be substituted for an iterative imperfect (and the iterative imperfect itself can be made more iterative by the addition of ἄν). But here ἔπεμψεν has no ἄν.

Is ἔπεμψεν the gnomic aorist? If so, seeing that the gnomic aorist is present in meaning, there is no justification for the optative of the protasis.

Thirdly, it may be suggested that we have here that peculiar use of the optative in the protasis which is sometimes found in connexion with present apodosis of a sententious character. But in all tragic instances of this construction the verb of the apodosis is an infinitive depending either on a word of obligation (e.g. *χρή*) or on a superlative (e.g. *κράτιστον*); except that in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (ll. 92–3) we find the remarkably obscure and probably corrupt expression :

καὶ γὰρ ὑστέρω τό γ' εὖ
πράσσειν, ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο, κέρδος ἐμπολᾷ.

I cannot regard that passage of the *Trachiniae*, even if the text be sound, as warranting the combination of optative in the protasis with gnomic aorist in the apodosis.

I propose to restore both grammar and strict metre by reading :

εἰ δὲ τύχα τι τέκοι,
βαρὺν βαρέα φόβον ἂν ἔπεμψεν οἴκοις.

The short form of the feminine of *βαρύς* is found in Aeschylus.

SECOND *EXTANT CHORUS

FRAGMENT 781 (NAUCK)

No instances.

(The third chorus, also contained in Nauck's 781st fragment, is either so corrupt that strophe and antistrophe have vanished, or else breaks off before the antistrophe begins.)

SUMMARY OF EURIPIDES

The extant plays and fragments by, or attributed to, Euripides appear to present in all 457 examples of the phenomenon I am investigating, a total, on my view, in no way surprising, when we consider the mass of literature involved and the serious corruption to which it has been subjected.

FRAGMENTS OF THE MINOR TRAGEDIANS

The extant fragments of the minor tragedians afford no material for the purposes of this investigation.

CHAPTER VIII

ARISTOPHANES

THE normal language of the Aristophanic chorus is not Doric but Attic. Departures into Doric seem always to be by way of parody or with a view to the production of some humorous effect.

It is sufficiently apparent from an examination of the evidence that the Attic chorus of Aristophanes, while presenting strophes and antistrophes (if they may be so called) of a kind *prima facie* similar to the kind peculiar to Doric lyric poetry, nevertheless presents them with a difference. The difference expresses itself in permission of violation of synapheia, and in permission of violation of the strict Doric rules of correspondence.

But it is evident that these two permissions are neither general nor unqualified. The true fact seems to be that Aristophanes employs quite a variety of genera of dance-music, and that these genera—some of them non-Dorian but still lyrical, others of them not lyrical at all—have their own peculiar histories and traditional rules. The *Cordax*, for example, appears to insist on as strict a correspondence between syllables as if it were a lyrical Doric dance, but on the other hand to be perfectly patient of lack of synapheia at the ends of lines—a phenomenon quite intelligible if we suppose that at the end of each line a pause was made in order to give opportunity for a violent gesture.

Quite frequently choruses occur which exhibit very few—not seldom not even a few—deviations from Doric rule. I suppose that certain kinds of Attic chorus had rules almost indistinguishable from the rules of Doric lyric.

But, taking the choruses as a whole, it is manifest that the phenomenon which is the subject of this book was, at least under many circumstances, permitted in various kinds of Attic chorus.

The instances are too numerous, in view of the total want of suspicion that characterizes the great majority of them, to be the result of corruption. But I do not know why I should be disturbed by this conclusion. Attic choruses are not Doric choruses; neither is it possible to argue from one to the other.

When Aristophanes breaks off into Doric, he usually does so for a very small portion of a chorus only. It is evident that such deviations do not transform the essential character of the chorus in question. He also sometimes breaks off into the Epic dialect, and even mixes Epic and Doric.

I am unable to find in the Aristophanic writings any really Doric chorus whatever, except one in the *Nubes*.

ll. 275-90 and 299-313 of that play constitute a *prima facie* genuine lyrical chorus, without any sense of parody, composed in the Doric dialect. Synapheia is strictly preserved at all points, except that at the end of l. 309 we have a short instead of a long syllable. Perhaps we ought to read *θαλίαι τ' ἐν | παντοδαπαῖσιν ὥραις* (see MS. readings). There are six examples of the phenomenon I am discussing. It is evident that the strophe and antistrophe, as they stand, recognize my phenomenon as lawful and even as common. A certain amount of corruption is admitted by the editors; but nothing except the grossest corruption could have foisted in the six examples. Only one of them is curable by any slight conjecture. It is to be observed (see ll. 322-3 *et seq.*) that it is not till after the antistrophe that the *Clouds* actually come into sight. As, under the circumstances, there can be no sort of lyrical dance accompanying the words and music of their song, there is no possible reason for observing strict lyrical rules of correspondence. Hence Aristophanes is relieved from the charge of having deserted for a moment the region of comedy. He has introduced a *prima facie* lyrical chorus, but he has also introduced the slight

necessary touch of incongruity. He also has introduced the incongruity of anapaestic clausulae.

Merely for the sake of completeness, I will give the six examples.

A AND B

The fourth line of the strophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a spondee, and its second foot a dactyl: the fourth line of the antistrophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a dactyl, and its second foot a spondee.

The lines are these:

- (α) l. 279. ὑψ^ηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς ἐπὶ
(β) l. 302. οὐ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα

C AND D

The seventh line of the strophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a spondee, and its third foot a dactyl: the seventh line of the antistrophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a dactyl, and its third foot a spondee.

These are the lines:

- (α) l. 282. καρπούς τ' ἀρδομένην ἱερὰν χθόνα
(β) l. 305. οὐρανίους τε θεοῖς δωρήματα

It would indeed be possible to write ἱρὰν for ἱερὰν; but it seems unnecessary. Attempts at transposition would be fatal to synapheia.

E

The eighth line of the strophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a dactyl: the eighth line of the antistrophe is a dactylic tetrameter with its first foot a spondee.

The lines run thus:

- (α) l. 283. καὶ ποταμῶν ζαθέων κελαδήματα
(β) l. 306. ναοί θ' ὑψερεφεῖς, καὶ ἀγάλματα

F

The ninth line of the strophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a spondee: the ninth line of the antistrophe is a dactylic tetrameter, with its first foot a dactyl.

Here are the lines:

(a) l. 284. καὶ πόντον κελάδοντα βαρύβρομον

(b) l. 307. καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται

I will not delay longer over Aristophanes. I have extracted from him all that seems germane to the strict purpose of my inquiry. But I believe that, were it permissible in this treatise to enter upon a series of analogous investigations, it would be possible, although a task of greater labour and difficulty than that which I have undertaken, to arrive with some degree of certainty at the rules both of correspondence and of synapheia which govern the various genera of the Attic chorus. Such an investigation, however, is in its nature clearly *no πάρεργον*.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY OF SUMMARIES

TAKING the whole of Greek lyric poetry, that is properly so called and that is subject to the laws of the Doric Muse, we find, as nearly as I can estimate, 747 *prima facie* examples of the phenomenon which is the subject of this treatise.

About two-thirds of the whole excite suspicion on ground unconnected with the fact of the presentation of the phenomenon.

It must be borne in mind that, in dealing with that comparatively small portion of lyric poetry which is constructed in such a way that the same metrical system occurs more than twice (e.g. most of Pindar), I have counted for statistical purposes as one instance only of the phenomenon any particular long syllable which is replaced by two shorts, or *vice versa*, even if in the series of strophes, antistrophes, and epodes there exists at the same point of the metre a series of substitutions. Thus, were an ode to contain five corresponding epodes, and if the first syllable of three of the epodes were a long, and in the other two epodes were replaced by two shorts, I should count not two instances, but one instance. In that I may be right or wrong; but it makes no practical difference. On the other basis of calculation the grand total of examples would not receive any important increment. I do not think that on any calculation whatever it could be brought as high as 800.

I have tried to exclude nothing whatever: a large number of the examples are of the flimsiest description

imaginable. No doubt I have omitted a certain number ; but I have taken careful precautions, and am confident that only a few fish can have slipped through the meshes of my net. I should be grateful to any reader who would angle for these and let me have them.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

HAVING now come to the end of this tractate, I will set out as briefly as possible three results at which I seem to have arrived.

First and foremost, I claim to have cast such doubt upon the legitimacy in Doric lyric of the correspondence of one long with two short syllables as to make it gravely uncertain whether the phenomenon in question can in any single instance be rightly called original.

Secondly, I have brought together a mass of cumulative evidence which tends to the conclusion that mediaeval corruption extends far beyond the limits that are usually assigned to it.

Thirdly, I have (that at any rate is my own belief) demonstrated that it is, to say the least, a rash thing to assume in the case of Greek poetry the possibility of a gloss obtruding itself into the text, except in the case where there is some accompanying circumstance of a kind to mislead a copyist into the belief that the gloss is no gloss but a correction.

I trust that the reader will pardon the literary defects of my discussion. The nature of my investigation has compelled me, where I should have wished to write a book, to compile a tractate. And the tractate has also the unavoidable disadvantage, in a tractate, of considerable length.

I must also ask the reader (and this request is so important that I put it as my last word) to bear in mind the fact that in a vast majority of cases my argument has hardly anything to do with the validity or invalidity of my own emendations. My main object is not to cure corruption, but to establish the probability of its existence.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

MUSICAL SCANSION

I AM by no means convinced that the current schemes of Pindaric metre are, even in their main outlines, correct.

They are based, one and all, on the theory that a musical foot must necessarily have the ictus at the beginning. Consequently descending feet only (˘ ˘, ˘ ˘ ˘, and the like) are allowed: ascending feet (˘ ˘, ˘ ˘ ˘, and the like) are absolutely forbidden.

Now it is plain that, with the help of anacrusis and similar devices, any line can be scanned on the descending principle; and also that any line with the like helps can be scanned on the ascending principle.

For example, an iambic trimeter admits of being scanned either

(a) ascending: ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - |, or

(b) descending: ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - |.

Similarly a trochaic tetrameter may either be scanned

(a) descending: - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - ˘ | - |, or

(b) ascending: - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - | ˘ - |.

Modern music uses the descending method. But it is merely a matter of notation whether the descending or the ascending metre is employed.

As regards Greek music, on the other hand, I am not so sure that it is merely a matter of notation. The remarkable fact is that the Greek musical writers do not confine themselves exclusively to either system, but speak freely of feet of both kinds.

Seeing that any piece of modern music could in reality be expressed in either notation, it is difficult to see why the Greeks

did not confine themselves either to the one or to the other, if, that is, their music was metrically similar to modern music.

If, however, in the same composition ascending and descending feet of identical quantity were allowed side by side, then the need of a double notation becomes obvious.

Were both species of feet so permitted?

An answer to this question may perhaps be found in the scholiast's scansion of the first Olympian ode. I will translate his observations at full length :

"The strophe and antistrophe of the first ode consist of seventeen cola. The first colon is an antispastic dimeter, called a Glyconic, after Glyco, who invented it. It is an antispast plus a diiambus. For the iambic syzygy, as has been said, has an affinity with the antispastic metre, and the ending of every colon is invariable, $\cup - - \cup \cup - \cup -$.

The second colon is a trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic, which is also termed Ithyphallic, $- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup$.

The third colon is a choriambic dimeter catalectic: but the second foot is a diiambus, since an iambic syzygy has an affinity with a choriamb. The colon is a syllable short: hence it is catalectic. When it is a foot short it is called brachycatalectic. The quantities are $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup$.

The fourth colon is an anapaestic dimeter catalectic, which is also called a paroemiatic, $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - -$.

The fifth colon is similar to the second, with a dactyl in the third place, $- \cup - \cup - \cup \cup$.

The sixth colon resembles it, except that the dactyl is in the second place, $- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup$.

The seventh colon is a trochaic dimeter catalectic, which also goes by the names of an Euripidean and a lecythium. It is called a lecythium either because of Aristophanes' jest or because of the booming noise of the trochaic measure, which booming noise the little flasks called lecythia also produce [i.e. when mourners blow across their mouths at funerals], or because of the booming noise of dirges, for which reason also Callimachus speaks of Tragedy as the 'Flask Muse.' Quantities: $- \cup - \cup - \cup -$.

The eighth colon is a trochaic monometer hypercatalectic, with a dactyl in the second place, $- \cup - \cup \cup -$.

The ninth colon is an iambic dimeter hypercatalectic, $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup - -$.

The tenth colon is an epionic dimeter catalectic. It is not called an ionic, but an epionic, because as antispasts are associated with iambs, so are ionics with trochees. Hence antispasts are unmusical in the company of ionics and trochees. Therefore the foot is epionic. Quantities, $\cup - - \cup - - \cup$.

The eleventh colon is a trochaic dimeter acatalectic, $- \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup$.

The twelfth colon is a choriambic dimeter catalectic, the final long being wanting. Quantities, $- \cup \cup - - \cup \cup$.

The thirteenth colon is a proceleusmatic dimeter catalectic. Observe also the rapidity of movement exhibited, both in strophe and antistrophe, by each of the cola that are of this scansion. This rapidity is of the very essence of the proceleusmatic dimeter, which consists of $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$.

The fourteenth colon is, like the seventh, a trochaic dimeter catalectic, $- \cup - \cup - \cup -$.

The fifteenth colon is a repugnant antispastic dimeter hypercatalectic. It consists of an antispast, a first paeon and a syllable. Its repugnancy lies in the fact that, whereas antispasts go harmoniously with iambs and paeons with trochees, iambs and trochees are, on the other hand, opposite to one another. Quantities, $\cup - - \cup - \cup \cup \cup -$.

The sixteenth colon is antispastic, with a repugnant trochaic syzygy in the second place. The trochaic syzygy is succeeded by an anapaest, which itself has affinity not with the antispasts but with the trochees. Thus the colon is a trimeter and brachycatalectic. Quantities, $\cup - - \cup - \cup - \cup \cup \cup -$.

The seventeenth colon is a Phalaecian, so called after Phalaecus, who invented it. According to Phalaecus' use of the line, only the first foot is an antispast: the succeeding feet are iambs. This Phalaecian is an antispastic trimeter brachycatalectic, $\cup - - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup -$.

At the end of each strophe and antistrophe comes a single metrical sign, called a paragraphus: thus ¶. This mark indicates the end of a strophe or antistrophe.

It should be observed that all the strophes and antistrophes and epodes of this Epinician ode present cola similar and of equal metrical value in all cases to those presented by the first strophe and epode. The same is true of all the odes that follow, with the exception of the fourteenth. The fourteenth ode, being

monostrophic, departs in the antistrophe from the model in the strophe.

The epode has thirteen cola.

The first colon is made up of a second paeon, an iambic syzygy, and a syllable, the combination being repugnant. It is a hypercatalectic dimeter, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ [*read* $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$]. In order to scan the colon as a hypercatalectic dimeter, the scholiast must necessarily have treated the paeon as under the circumstances of the same value as an iamb, i.e. half a metre. Otherwise the colon would have been a hypercatalectic trimeter].

The second colon is a penthimimeral iambic; but the first foot is trisyllabic. Quantities, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$

The third colon is an iambic dimeter acatalectic. It also possesses trisyllabic feet. Quantities, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. [This exposition of the quantities involves $\delta\epsilon\ \acute{o}\iota\ \kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho'$ (*sic* MSS. Byz.) $\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\rho\iota\ \Lambda\nu\delta\omicron\upsilon, \acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\epsilon\nu, \phi\acute{\omega}|\tau\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \theta\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\ \delta'\ \omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha, \omicron\delta\omicron\nu\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho'\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$. I therefore propose to read $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. The "trisyllabic feet" are the $\text{---}\cup$ and the $\cup\text{---}$, both of which the scholiast combines together as possessing in union the semi-metric value of one iamb.]

The fourth colon consists of two penthimimerals and a syllable. The first foot is a choree of three shorts [not the other kind of choree, $\text{---}\cup$]. Quantities, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$.

The fifth colon is made up of a second paeon, a third epitrite, and a bacchius. Feet like the epitrite and the bacchius possess an affinity with paeons. Quantities, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$. [Who shall say whether the scholiast may not be right in this scansion? He states an intelligible principle; and it does not seem likely to have been a mere invention of the later metricians that paeons, epitrites, and bacchii might lawfully alternate.]

The sixth colon is antispastic together with affinitive iambic syzygies. It is a trimeter. Quantities, $\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$.

The seventh colon is an ionic a majore dimeter hypercatalectic, but it has for its second foot a trochaic syzygy. Trochaic syzygies have an affinity with ionics. Quantities, $\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$.

The eighth colon is an iambic dimeter brachycatalectic,

--o--o--.

The ninth colon is an ionic a majore dimeter brachycatalectic,

--o--o--.

The tenth colon is an iambic dimeter acatalectic, called an anacreontic, because Anacreon composed whole songs in this metre, --o--o--o--.

The eleventh colon is an ionic dimeter acatalectic, a majore, but with a deviation. The deviation consists in the first syllable of all being short, so that the first foot passes into a second paeon. Quantities, o--o--o--o--.

The twelfth colon is epionic because of the initial antispast, seeing that the antispast has affinity not with ionics and trochees but with iambs. This is the reason why the colon is called not ionic but epionic. And it is not strange that the conclusion of the colon is trochaic, as trochees have an affinity with ionics. Quantities, o--o--o--o--o--.

The thirteenth colon is a choriambic dimeter catalectic, as its concluding measure is a bacchius, and the bacchius has affinity with iambs and choriambis. Quantities, --o--o--o--.

At the end of each epode is written a coronis, thus: ♪. At the end of the last epode, that is to say at the end of the complete ode, we find a single asterisk, *, which indicates that the ode is at an end."

APPENDIX B

"HERONDAS"

IN the course of these discussions I have had occasion to refer to the Mimes of "Herondas."

I have put the reputed name of the author of the Mimes within inverted commas, because I entertain the gravest doubt as to the correctness of that name, and indeed as to the alleged fact that the mimes were written before the Christian era.

There is no mention whatever either of the author or of the mimes in any extant writer, whether Greek or Latin, until we come to the writings of the younger Pliny. One Matius or Mattius, who is first mentioned by Varro, the author of the *De Lingua Latina* (vii. 95-6), composed scazons, of which some twenty lines have survived: they in no way resemble "Herondas," and yet they are used as an argument! Matius himself (fr. 1) says that he is imitating Hipponax. It is strictly true that until Pliny not a single witness speaks. For this extraordinary silence no one, so far as I know, has even attempted to account. But all the editors assume that Pliny is speaking not of a contemporary but of a classic of the Greek period.

Long before the discovery of the papyrus of the mimes, scholars were aware of a line written by Hipponax, and presented by the scholiast on Nicander's *Theriaca*, l. 474, in the corrupt form:

λαιμᾶ δέ σου τὸ χεῖλος ὥς Ἡρώδου.

As Hipponax is better known as a writer of scazons than of iambs, the line was naturally emended into:

λαιμᾶ δέ σου τὸ χεῖλος ὥσπερ Ἡρώδου.

The necessary deduction was that Herodas or Herodes was either a contemporary or perhaps even a predecessor of

Hipponax. As Hipponax unquestionably lived in the sixth century B.C., the date of Herodas or Herodes had consequently to be put at least equally early.

But reference to better MSS. of Nicander subsequently showed, and this a considerable time before the papyrus of the mimes was dug up, that the true reading of the line of Hipponax is

λαίμῃ δέ σου τὸ χεῖλος ὡς ἐρωδιοῦ,

so that there is nothing whatever in the passage that has reference to the author of the mimes or to his date.

In the absence of all evidence, scholars now gave up the sixth-century ascription, and, proceeding on mere guesswork, assigned Herodes to the Alexandrian period.

In that period he has ever since then remained.

To my mind it is little short of incredible that a classical or sub-classical Greek author can have employed such violences of language and of metre as characterize almost every page of the Mimes. It is equally difficult for me to believe that an Alexandrian Herondas would have remained unmentioned in literature till the time of Pliny.

Later mentions are not infrequent. The spelling varies between Ἡρωδ-, Ἡρωνδ- and Ἡρωδ-. The termination seems quite uncertain.

Pliny's mention is to be found in the third letter of the fourth book of epistles. He is congratulating Arrius Antoninus on the admirable Greek of certain epigrams and mimiambi (Dresd. *mimiambos*: Palat. *micuambos*: other MSS. *iambos*) composed by the latter. His words are these: "Ita certe sum adfectus ipse, cum Graeca epigrammata tua, cum mimiambos proxime legerem. Quantum ibi humanitatis, venustatis, quam dulcia illa, quam antiqua, quam arguta, quam recta! Callimachum me vel Heroden, vel si quid his melius, tenere credebam; quorum tamen neuter utrumque aut absolvit aut attigit. Hominemne Romanum tam Graece loqui? Non medius fidius ipsas Athenas tam Atticas dixerim."

Observe the clause beginning "quorum tamen"—"though neither Callimachus nor Herodes has either carried to perfection or even attempted both kinds of composition."

I do not think that it necessarily follows from this passage that, in the time of Pliny, Herodes was already an ancient

classic. Callimachus was ; and he is mentioned as a prince of epigrammatists. Then Pliny wishes to turn to the prince of mimiambic writers. But where is he to find him ?

It is to be remembered that to write scazons is not the same thing as to write mimes in the scazon metre. I suggest that there was no really famous writer of scazon mimes of the old Greek period for Pliny to mention, and that, failing such, he has recourse to a man of his own day, well known throughout the Greek and Roman world, millionaire and consul, in whose stadium at Athens the Olympian games have recently been held, Herodes Atticus the elder.

Pliny tells us (a fact mentioned by no previous author) that Herodes wrote mimes. Martial tells us (a fact mentioned by no previous author) that Atticus wrote mimes. Pliny and Martial were both contemporary with a well-known man who had the double name Herodes Atticus. Is it not *prima facie* probable that it is Herodes Atticus to whom both Pliny and Martial refer ?

Here is Martial's epigram, the seventh of the second book :

- Declamas belle ; causas agis, Attice, belle,
 Historias bellas, carmina bella facis.
 Componis belle mimos ; epigrammata belle ;
 Bellus grammaticus ; bellus es astrologus.
 5 Et belle cantas, et saltas, Attice, belle.
 Bellus es arte lyrae, bellus es arte pilae.
 Nil bene cum facias, facis attamen omnia belle,
 Vis dicam quid sis ? magnus es ardelio.

I have by no means completed my argument ; but even on the facts as they stand up to the present, I maintain that Herodes Atticus the elder is quite as likely to have written the mimes as is some otherwise unknown individual of the Alexandrian period.

Before we pass from Pliny and Martial, I should like to call attention to the fact that the former states that Herodes wrote mimes only and no epigrams, the latter that Atticus wrote both mimes and epigrams. I suggest that Pliny sent his letter to Arrius before Herodes had composed any epigrams. I even think it not at all impossible that this very letter of Pliny's piqued Herodes into trying his hand at epigrams. It may also very well be the case that in damning with faint

praise Atticus' mimes as well as his epigrams, Martial was intentionally offering a counterblast to Pliny's letter. It is interesting to observe that elsewhere Martial sneers both at Callimachus and at those who admire him.

The fourth epigram of the tenth book runs as follows :

- Qui legis Oedipodem, caligantemque Thyesten,
Colchidas, et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis ?
Quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus, et Atys,
Quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion ?
5 Exutusve puer pennis labentibus ? aut qui
Odit amatrices Hermaphroditus aquas ?
Quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria chartae ?
Hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita, Meum est.
Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyiasque
10 Invenies : hominem pagina nostra sapit.
Sed non vis, Mamurra, tuos cognoscere mores,
Nec te scire : legas αἴτια Callimachi.

I now come to a very strange piece of positive evidence derived in part from the Mimes themselves, or rather from one of them.

The second mime consists of 102 lines. The whole of these lines are taken up with the speech of one Battarus in a law-court, with the exception that two lines (and two words) in the middle of the mime consist of a law, which is read out by the clerk at Battarus' request. Battarus consumes three and a half lines in asking an attendant to stop the clepsydra while the clerk is reading the law. Consequently Battarus actually makes a speech of ninety-nine and more than a half lines. This suggests some more or less burlesque clepsydra-limit of 100 lines.

Let us turn to Philostratus, Βίοι Σοφιστῶν, par. 585. We there read :

ἐφοίτησε μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα ἔσως γεγωνῶς ἔτη καὶ ταχέως ἀξιωθείς, ὧν Σκέπτος τε καὶ Ἀμφικλῆς ἡξιούντο, ἐνεγράφη καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλεψυδρίου ἀκροάσει. τὸ δὲ Κλεψύδριον ὧδε εἶχεν· τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀκροατῶν δέκα οἱ ἀρετῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπεσιτίζοντο τῇ ἐς πάντας ἀκροάσει κλεψύδραν ξυμμετρημένην ἐς ἑκατὸν ἔπη, ἃ διήει ἀποτάδην ὁ Ἡρώδης παρητημένος τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἔπαινον καὶ μόνου γεγωνῶς τοῦ λέγειν.

The main fact that emerges from Philostratus' account is that Herodes Atticus the younger was president of a club, called

the Clepsydrium, which used a clepsydra set ἐς ἑκατὸν ἔπη. I suggest that this means that the clepsydra in question was set for 100 lines.

It is true that Philostratus is speaking of Herodes Atticus the younger (whose date forbids that he should have written the mimes); but there is no possible reason why the club should not have existed in his father's time.

My contention is that the second mime actually refers to the clepsydra of the Clepsydrium, and was very possibly first recited by Herodes Atticus the elder at a meeting of the club.

Coincidence, I know, has a long arm; but it is a striking fact that we should find in the Mimes of Herodes a clepsydra, set for 100 lines, dragged in with force and emphasis, and we should also find that a clepsydra set ἐς ἑκατὸν ἔπη was in possession of the son of Herodes Atticus the elder. By itself this might be no more than a strange coincidence; but it is not by itself, and I argue that it is more than a coincidence.

We will pass to the *Βίοι Σοφιστῶν*, par. 490. There Philostratus writes (he is speaking of Favorinus): ὅθεν καὶ τελευτῶν κληρόνομον Ἡρώδην ἀπέφηνε τῶν τε βιβλίων, ὅποσα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἰκίας καὶ τοῦ Αὐτοληκύθου. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἰνδὸς μὲν καὶ ἱκανῶς μέλας, ἄθυρμα δὲ Ἡρώδου καὶ Φαβωρίνου· ξυμπίνοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διῆγεν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἰνδικοῖς Ἀττικά καὶ πεπλανημένη τῇ γλώττῃ βαρβαρίζων.

It is interesting to observe (I do not press the point) that in an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (Grenfell and Hunt, vol. iii. pp. 41 *et seq.*) we have a mime (written partly in Greek, partly in a barbarian language), of which one of the characters is an Indian king.

Let us now turn to the problem arising out of the use of the proper names Maro and Simon.

In mime 3 (ll. 24-6) we read:

τριθημέρῃ Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μάρωνα ἐποίησεν
οὗτος Σίμωνα ὁ χρηστός.

The obvious meaning of these lines is: 'When his father had been three whole days giving him spelling-lessons out of Virgil, at the end of the time the good boy actually read the poet's name as Simon.' If *τριθημέρῃ* really signifies 'the day before yesterday,' the general sense is not seriously affected.

It is no use to say that Maro and Simon were names given to certain throws of dice. If they had been names for such throws in Alexandrian times, and if an Alexandrian writer of the undoubted force and originality of the author of the mimes had employed them in that sense, we should have had the striking lines that contain them hurled at our heads over and over again by scholiasts and lexicographers.

The proper name Maro was known to the classical Greeks: so was the proper name Simon. But the opposition between them, which is the very point of their use in this passage, was known neither to Greeks nor to anyone else until Virgil had become to the world the type of Roman literature with all its associations, and Simon Peter on the other hand had won the contempt of the pagan world as the leading representative of that band of slaves and barbarians who were destined to triumph over Greece and Rome alike.

If Σίωνα be read instead of Σίμωνα, the argument remains the same. It can only be the Sinon of Virgil that is in question.

In either case, no Greek writer would use the proper names in question as opposites until some such date as that of the elder Atticus.

I have, I think, said enough, not indeed to prove that Herodes Atticus was beyond doubt the author of the Mimes, but to justify at least a suspension of judgement both on my own part and on the part of my readers. Meineke (see his index to Stobaeus' *Florilegium*) thought that Herodes Atticus wrote the Mimes.

I am afraid that modern scholars are getting into the habit of taking too much for granted. Over-credulity may well be left to the "scientists."

APPENDIX C

AESCHYLUS AND PLATAEA

THE argument to the *Persae* was either composed by some one who had never so much as read the play, or else proves conclusively (*a*) that Aeschylus threw back the battle of Plataea to a date previous to Xerxes' return to Asia, and (*b*) that, as a necessary consequence, ll. 788–833 and 845–6 (in which the battle is prophesied as a thing of the future) are interpolations.

The relevant words are these, that part of the passage which is within brackets occurring in the longer, and presumably later, form of the argument only: ἡ δὲ ὑπόθεσις· Ξέρξης στρατευσάμενος κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος [μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, ἵππον μὲν ἄμετρον ἐπαγόμενος, ναῦς δὲ χιλίας διακοσίας ἑπτὰ ἢ καὶ δεκατέσσαρας,] καὶ πεζῇ μὲν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς νικηθεῖς, ναυτικῇ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, διὰ Θεσσαλίας φεύγων, διεπεραιώθη εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. These words, if trustworthy, are decisive, and confirm what I have said on the subject in my treatment of the fifth chorus of the play.

It may perhaps be contended that Greek arguments to plays are worth little more than waste paper. I will grant that the ineptitude of some members of the scholiastic tribe is amazing; but the argument to the *Persae*, in its shorter form, is a piece of quite good Greek writing, concise, straightforward, and apparently intelligent. Moreover, the author was sufficiently painstaking and (a remarkable circumstance) sufficiently in touch with antiquity to quote from Glaucus' Τὰ περὶ Αἰσχύλου Μύθων. He writes: Γλαῦκος, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αἰσχύλου μύθων ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιησθαι. ἐκτίθησι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δράματος ταύτην·

τάδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων.

πλὴν ἐκεῖ εὐνοῦχος ἐστὶν ἀγγέλλων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν τοῦ Ξέρξου ἡτταν,

στορνύς τε θρόνους τινὰς τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς πατέδροις. Now this Glaucus is Glaucus of Rhegium, who was probably born before Aeschylus died, and as to whose works some doubt existed in ancient times whether they were not the composition of the orator, Antiphon. I conclude that the argument to the *Persae* is early and has imperious claims on our attention.

It is commonly assumed (whether rightly or wrongly I have no idea) that, seeing that the *Glaucus* is stated in the argument (the longer form of the argument specifies, of the two *Glauci*, the *Glaucus Potnieus*) to have formed part of one tetralogy with the *Persae*, and seeing that the legend of neither personage of the name of Glaucus has anything to do with the plot of the *Persae*, and seeing further that Aeschylean tetralogies are supposed, apart from the question of the satyric drama, to be in some sense unities, and seeing yet again that Potniae is only a few miles distant from Plataea, therefore the *Glaucus Potnieus* must have contained a prophecy of the battle of Plataea. If this conclusion is valid (I abstain from appraising it), then surely there can be no prophecy of the same battle in the *Persae*. Two prophecies of the same battle in one tetralogy would be one too many.

How the interpolated passages may have come in it is easy to see. They were partly, at least, due to a desire for historical accuracy. If they are post-Aeschylean, that is the sole and sufficient explanation. If, however, Aeschylus himself introduced them into the version of his play that was performed (apparently without its three companion-plays) at Syracuse, then the advisability of complimenting the Dorians was an additional factor. Salamis by itself may have been a trifle too Attic for Syracusan taste. On the latter assumption, Aeschylus must have modified for Syracusan production the earlier parts of the *Persae* in order to avoid inconsistency, and our present text must be a contamination of the two editions. But I question whether the interpolations are Aeschylean.

APPENDIX D

STOBAEUS AND THE *TROADES*

PROFESSOR TYRRELL, in his edition of the *Troades*, observes: "It is strange too that Stobaeus, who quotes so copiously from the other plays of Euripides, seems not to have known the *Troades* at all." This statement needs modification. All trace of the *Troades* is absent from the first three books of the *Florilegium*, but the fourth book contains four quotations from the play, including in all eight lines. In the case of no other play of Euripides now extant are Stobaeus' quotations confined to his fourth book, although in no book does he cite any passage from the *Cyclops*: among the identifiable plays that are not now extant none except the *Scyrii* is cited in the fourth book only. Consequently, as it is well known that the *Florilegium* has been in some measure re-edited since the time of Photius, a doubt arises as to the Stobaeian provenance of the passages from the *Troades*. This doubt is accentuated when we come to examine the passages *in situ*. The first (ll. 101-2) is quoted in ch. cviii., but although it occurs (standing fourth) in a series of ten quotations from Euripides, all, except this, ascribed to him by name and attributed, save in this and one other instance, to the plays from which they come, this quotation appears without a heading of any kind. It seems to have been copied out of the *Anthologia Vindobonensis*. It includes the unmetrical anapaestic line—

μεταβαλλομένου δαίμονος ἀνέχου.

The second quotation (ll. 635-6) occurs in ch. cxx. This chapter appears to have been interpolated subsequently to the date of the compilation of Photius' table of contents. Elsewhere Photius' chapters have been subdivided, and once a chapter has been omitted: here a chapter seems to have been added. The third

quotation (ll. 632-3) comes in ch. cxxi. As this passage is separated by one line only in the text of Euripides from the previous quotation, it may well have been added by the same hand. The fourth quotation (ll. 608-9) is to be found in ch. cxxii. It is almost palpably a mediaeval interpolation, seeing that it presents the corrupt *πεπονθόσι* of the late tradition instead of the *πεπραγόσι* of Codd. Vaticanus and Havniensis. So much for Stobaeus' alleged acquaintance with the *Troades*.

APPENDIX E

A PARAPHRASE OF THE *HECUBA*

WITH the kind assistance of the Reverend Stergios Demetriades, Librarian of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, Mr. I. G. Kelly of Queens' College, Cambridge, has made for me a transcript of a prose paraphrase of the *Hecuba* which is found in a manuscript in the Library of the Patriarch of Jerusalem (No. 462 of the MSS. brought from Saba: see pp. 557-8 of the second volume of the 'Ιεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη). Besides the *Hecuba* and the paraphrase, which are undated, the MS. contains various classical and later works of a miscellaneous character, several of which have dates appended to them by the copyists ranging from 1732 to 1734. At the end of the whole MS. (that is to say, at the end of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes) comes a sort of colophon, consisting of four *versus politici*.

I had hoped that *versus politici* might be apparent in the paraphrase of the *Hecuba*. But that paraphrase, as it stands, is pure prose, and manifestly, in its existing form, of a date not earlier than the seventeenth century. Yet it is fairly obvious that it is, at least in part, a paraphrase of a paraphrase. From time to time we find the text of the *Hecuba* translated, so to speak, twice over, first into standard mediaeval Greek, and secondly into a dialect of the modern vernacular.

For example in l. 142 of the *Hecuba* we read

ἀλλ' ἴθι ναούς.

The paraphrase presents

ἀλλ' ὦ ἐκάβη πορεύθητι πήγαινε εἰς τοὺς νάους.

Here πορεύθητι seems to be a mediaeval paraphrase of ἴθι, and πήγαινε a late paraphrase of πορεύθητι.

Very careful study might possibly result in the disentangling from their surroundings of some of the ancient elements in the paraphrase; and one might then consider whether or no in these ancient elements there is any trace of political or other metre. I cannot attempt the task, as the paraphrase has only reached me at the moment of going to press. But I am able to state that up and down the MS. there occur, though not in any great number, phrases that look like portions of *versus politici*.

I have elsewhere suggested that in l. 414 for

ἄνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος, ὦν μ' ἔχρην τυχεῖν

we ought to read

ἄνυμνος ἀνυμέναιος, ὦν με χρεῖν τυχεῖν.

The paraphrase presents

χωρίς νυμφίον ὑστερημένη ἀπὸ ὕμνων καὶ ὠδαῖς νυμφικαῖς.

It is quite possible that ἀπὸ ὕμνων represents the original paraphrase of ἄνυμνος, and that χωρίς νυμφίον ὑστερημένη is an addition caused by (the corruption, as I consider it) ἄνυμφος.

The whole paraphrase ought to be edited by some scholar possessing a good knowledge of mediaeval and modern Greek. If it does nothing else, it sheds a flood of light on the traditional principles which govern Greek paraphrase, and ought to be of great use to the student of paraphrastic corruption.

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
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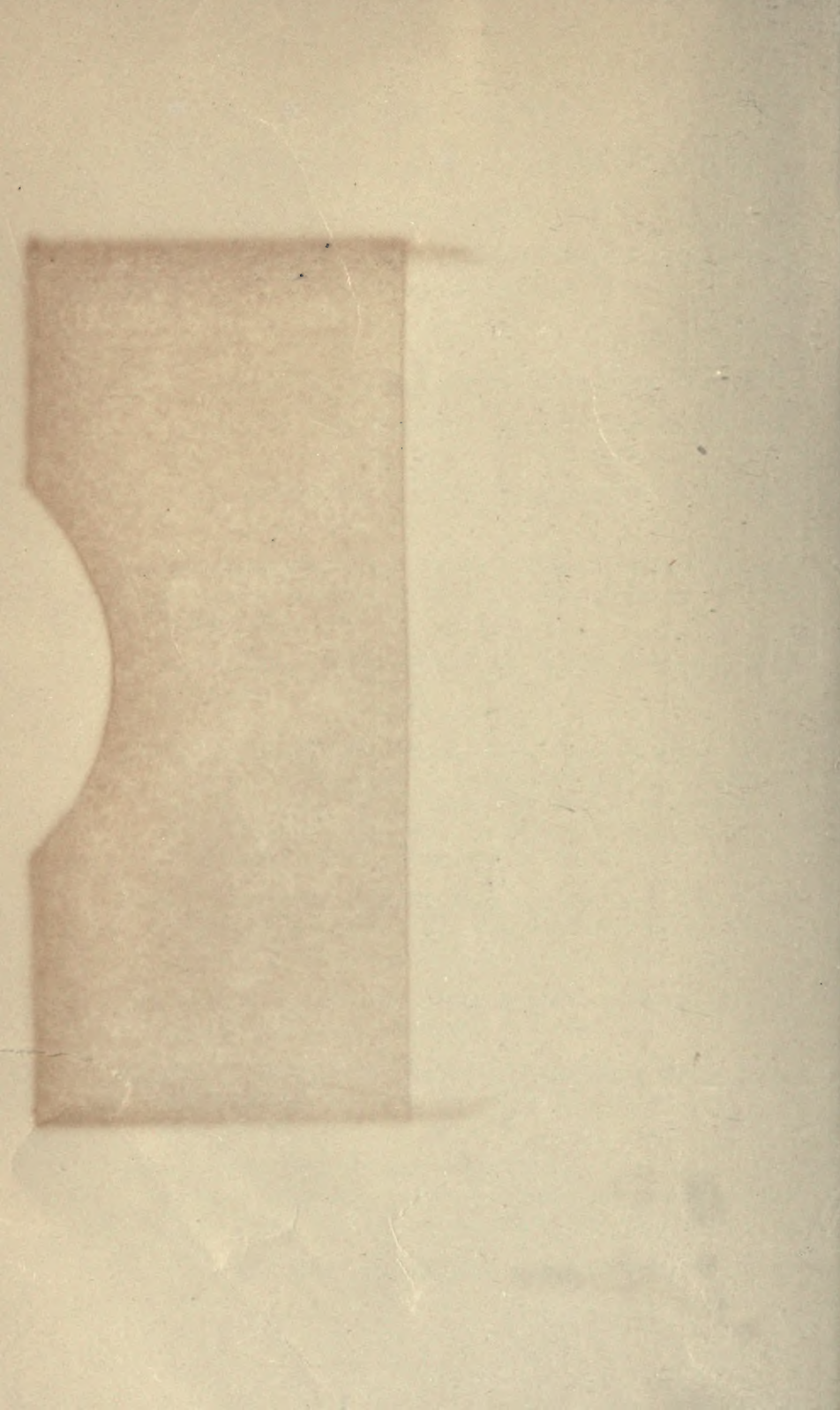
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